

ews from behind the Iron Curtain

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- Art Under the New Course
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- The Unquiet Life
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News from behind the IRON CURTAIN

January 1955 — Vol. 4 — No. 1

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ABOUT THIS PUBLICATION . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Free Europe Press of the Free Europe Committee, is circulated to those with a specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The magazine is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotation is used to provide source material and to document commentary. The Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

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The Month in Review



AT THE END of a year and a half of the New Course, Satellite regimes were taking **political measures designed to bolster their economic programs**. Since these economic goals—increased productivity in both industry and agriculture, more food and consumer goods—demand for success the cooperation of the people, regimes are cautiously experimenting with certain political “liberalizations” in an attempt to gain that support. Elections appearing to be somewhat less tightly controlled than usual, Front movements designed to enlist the masses behind regime aims, decentralization of certain economic and political powers, amnesties for political prisoners, a diminution of doctrinal rigidities, all these were evidence of the trend. Certain economic concessions are still being granted, although on a scale considerably lower than in the first period of the New Course one year ago.

Elections took place in **Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania**. In both the Hungarian and Polish elections to local councils on various administrative levels, the **regimes permitted the defeat of small percentages of the official candidates**. These defeats were unprecedented in any previous national Communist elections, Soviet or Satellite. They attested both to the strength of popular opposition and to the increased degree of “liberalization,” which found it politic to admit the existence, in however small a measure, of that opposition. The regimes were not at the moment promoting the myth of absolute and monolithic unity, although in the Czechoslovak election for the rubber stamp National Assembly, no candidates were permitted to be defeated.

In agriculture, the **Hungarian** regime issued a number of **decrees designed to improve production efficiency**. These included provisions for **voluntary land exchanges** between independent farmers and kolkhozes (instead of the forced commassations of pre-New Course years), the granting of greater managerial powers and greater independence from bureaucratic control to State Farm directors, and the establishment of voluntary cooperatives of independent farmers for joint machinery purchases and joint marketing of produce.

In **Czechoslovak** agriculture, **1953 unfulfilled delivery quotas** for a number of products were **cancelled** for independent and kolkhoz farmers who fulfill 1954 deliveries of grain, potatoes and beets. The unfulfilled 1953 deliveries of all other unspecified products were cancelled unconditionally. By this measure the regime hopes to assure 1954 deliveries and to earn good will among the peasants, at the price of outstanding 1953 deliveries which were probably unobtainable anyway. **Czechoslovak collectives** are still, as far as available information indicates, **declining**. According to the latest figures, kolkhozes of the most common types III and IV now comprise approximately 30 percent of the country's arable land area, a great falling off from the approximate 44 percent before the New Course.

Romanian agriculture is the subject of the regime's most intensive efforts at increasing production. Press campaigns and village agitation have been aimed at assuring the fulfillment of fall plowing and sowing plans, and at reclaiming unused and fallow land. The success of the plowing and sowing campaign is doubtful; farmers were being urged

to continue plowing even after the first snowfall. A new decree offers incentives to farmers to produce and deliver more sugar beet. The incentives, sugar and seed in addition to the payment price, will be given on a sliding scale with greatest rewards to kolkhozes.

In Poland, the Ministry of Public Security has been abolished, and former Minister Radkiewicz demoted to Minister of State Farms. The functions of the dissolved ministry will be taken over by two new State organs, a Ministry of Internal Affairs and a Committee of Public Security directly responsible to the Council of Ministers. This structure follows the pattern of reorganization in the Soviet Union after the death of Beria. The former organization will apparently direct the normal civil security functions such as the regular police, frontier guards, fire brigades, prisons and public records. The latter organization will take over the political police functions of the defunct ministry. This reorganization appears to be in part a response to the revelations of Josef Swiatlo, the defected Security Ministry official. It is probably intended to indicate, for purposes of internal propaganda, that the violations of legality revealed by Swiatlo will no longer be countenanced.

In Czechoslovakia, following the election, there was a minor reorganization of the Council of Ministers. No ministers were removed from the Council, although Uher, a Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, was reduced to Minister of Food Industries. Ludmila Jankovcova, the former Minister of Food Industries, was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, making her the highest-ranking woman in the Communist world. Three new members were added to the Council, heading the ministries of Justice, Education and Bulk Purchases.

In Bulgaria, the release from prison of several former leaders of the Agrarian Union indicated the regime's desire to gain the support and confidence of the peasants. The released leaders made statements praising the Communist Party, stating that its aims were those of the Agrarian Union, and urging their political adherents to join the National Front. The Front is now being revived and stressed as a vehicle for enlisting the support of the people, particularly the peasantry.

In Albania, also, a number of political and criminal prisoners were released or given reduced sentences in honor of the anniversary of "national liberation." No indication was given of how many of the prisoners amnestied had been guilty of political crimes.

The tendency toward normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc continued. There were political, economic and cultural contacts between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, as well as with other countries of the area. The tone toward Yugoslavia taken by the Soviet and Satellite press continued in its new moderation.

In Hungary, the Party is attempting to narrow the gulf between its members and the people by urging that its activists abandon the use of Communist jargon and speak "plain Hungarian," and by demanding that Party agitators evince greater patience and tolerance with people who disagree with them, especially independent tradesmen and religious believers. Although such statements indicate the continuance of the Party campaign against "left-sectarianism," a speech by Jozsef Darvas stressed that the pendulum must not be permitted to swing too far in the direction of liberalization. He castigated "petty bourgeois . . . views which go beyond criticising leaders and leadership, and undermine the prestige of the leaders and destroy discipline." He attacked manifestations of "petty bourgeois instability, cowardice, superficiality and irresponsibility," particularly in the cultural field. It is apparent that although the New Course demands certain degrees of relaxation of Party control, such a tendency will not be permitted to go too far.

Polish Balance Sheet

A survey of political and economic conditions in Poland. The article points to the continuation of past failures and the development of new ones, and gives an up-to-date accounting of Communist practice under the New Course.



Sign reads: Let's Fulfill the Plan All At Once.
Hygiene and Safety Inspector: "What happened to him?"
—"He fell down from the teapot."

Szpilki (Warsaw), March 21, 1954

IN POLAND, the economic disproportions caused by the Communists' heavy industrialization program prior to the New Course were not as great as elsewhere in the area, and the new, post-Stalin program announced a year and a half ago was less radical than the policies adopted in other Iron Curtain countries. Although the difficulties in Poland seemed less critical, and the cure neither so extreme nor so "conciliatory" as the ones undertaken by other Communist regimes, it now appears that the changes made on the political and economic fronts were not adequate to meet Polish needs. A survey of the present situation in Poland shows that the economic shortcomings admitted in 1953 continued and, in some cases mounted, in 1954, that new difficulties arose, and that so far the narrow scope of the new program has not brought significant results.

In a New Course speech to the Ninth Plenum of the Party Central Committee on October 29, 1953, Boleslaw Bierut admitted that the level of the living standard was unsatisfactory and that the pace of Polish agricultural and consumer goods production had lagged behind that of heavy industry. To remedy these conditions, he advocated

that in the next two years the tempo of increase in heavy industry be slowed down and that a greater proportion of investment funds be devoted to agriculture and consumer goods. Bierut said, however, that the regime's program of heavy industrialization was to be continued along past lines: in explaining how this could be accomplished, he claimed that past strides in industrialization had now made it possible for the government to expand heavy industry further and to improve the national welfare at the same time.

Bierut's investment program entailed shifts in distribution, and maintenance of total investments on the 1953 level. Within the next two years, he said, investments in agriculture will be raised 45 percent, in consumer goods 38 percent, housing and public buildings 26 percent, and social and cultural services by 34 percent. Subsequent information revealed that in 1954-1955, heavy industrial investments were scheduled to be decreased by 6.3 percent and that by 1955 credits and investments in agriculture are to rise by as much as 80-100 percent. On the basis of regime statistics, 1955 planned investments in the above-mentioned branches of the economy should be as follows:

	1953		1955	
	% of total	million	% inc. and dec.	million
	investments	zloty		zloty
Industry	53	16,891	0.6 decrease	16,786
Heavy Industry	46.2	14,724	6.3 decrease	13,796
Light Industry	6.8	2,167	38 increase	2,990
Agriculture	8.6	2,741	80-100 increase	4,934-5,482
Social and Cultural				
Services	4.2	1,338	34 increase	1,793
Housing	11.3	3,601	26 increase	5,862
Communal				
Economy	3.3	1,051		

Although it is doubtful that actual investments will correspond exactly with Bierut's plans, it is clear from the new program, as well as from speeches made at the Party Congress, March 10-13, that the New Course is focussed chiefly on raising farm output. Within the past year, most of the regime's concessions have been directed at the agricultural sector, and have been accompanied by new regulations on farm work, an intense political activation program in the countryside, and a reorganization of the administrative setup in rural areas.

As reflected in its farm measures, the Polish New Course seems to be based chiefly on intensified Party activity and economic incentives. In general, it toes a thin line between leniency and toughness. This policy is noticeable in the fact that while the regime has attempted to spur the formation of new kolkhozes, a number of old collectives have been dissolved. It is also manifested in instructions to rural activists: while cautioning activists that if necessary they must apply penal measures to insure that obligatory quotas are fulfilled, the Party pointed out that it is unwise to apply these measures on a large scale and that better propaganda is the solution. In industry also, the same trend is apparent. The "softer" New Course policy is demonstrated in efforts to raise consumer goods production and to improve the trade network and handicraft industry. At the same time, however, the regime has been confronted with poor quality production and, to put a stop to this failing, has recently imprisoned "guilty" managers and workers.

The results of the New Course so far do not appear to be impressive. Efforts to keep coal production on past production levels have not been successful and the regime is having difficulties implementing its coal savings program. Farm production continues to be unsatisfactory despite regime concessions, and lagging livestock deliveries and peasant resistance still endanger regime planning. Further, it seems that the required upsurge of Party activity, particularly in rural areas, has not been achieved, and that Party members and activists are confused with respect to carrying out New Course prescriptions.

Provincial Congresses

Many of the Party's difficulties were revealed at the provincial Party Congresses which were held about eight months after the March Party Congress in Warsaw. From these proceedings it appeared that Party political work was unsatisfactory, that worker and peasant membership was in-

adequate, that a large number of "Party blank spots" existed in rural areas, and that local Party committees had neglected their duties and failed to "activate the masses." At the Warsaw provincial conference, the following shortcomings were cited in Party work: weak leadership, lack of control, egotism, favoritism, "dignitarianism," arbitrariness, bureaucracy and indifference. Complaints also were issued about the sharp decrease in the proportion of workers who belonged to the Party. From 1950 to April 1954, the percentage of worker membership had dropped from 54.9 to 38.4. In absolute terms worker membership also decreased slightly: between 1950 and May 1954, the organization admitted 7,484 new workers, but within the same period about 7,800 such members were expelled.

Conditions in the rural areas were reported to be even worse. The First Secretary of the Kielce Provincial Committee claimed that there were still 1,200 villages in the province with no Party organizations and that in general the percentage of peasant Party members was too small: "The fact that in some counties, such as Sandomierz, the number of peasants in the Party has decreased can be explained only by lack of proper leadership and failure to adjust the social composition of Party membership." Taking Sandomierz as an example, the First Secretary discussed the Party's weak control in rural areas:

"... in the 27 newly-planned rural communities [each composed of 4-5 villages] not even one single Party organization exists, there is not even a single group of candidates. In over 50 percent of the new rural communities in our province, membership in Party organizations will be very small. *It is clear that with a Party organization composed of only a few members it will be very difficult to gain political control over the community.* . . .

"In the past year, 1,798 Party members were expelled in our province. Among these, 510 persons were dismissed for ideological deviation and 1,228 for a passive and indifferent attitude towards Party resolutions and for breaking Party discipline. . . . County committees show too little interest in helping Party organizations in small towns get rid of members who are ideologically alien or who joined the Party accidentally. *An analysis proved that especially in small town Party organizations, hostile elements exercise strong pressure. If we realize that the number of such towns in our province is very large indeed, the task of solving this problem becomes very serious.*" (Italics added. *Slowo Ludu* [Kielce], October 8, 1954.)

Another illustration of the weakness of Party organizations in the countryside was revealed in an October 8 editorial in *Nowiny Rzeszowskie* (Rzeszow), which criticized the failure of Party committees to follow directives for increasing and regulating Party cadres, and which deplored the growing number of "missing links" in district Party organizations: "The district of Mielec, for instance, still puts into its report the names of 26 candidates who have been waiting to be admitted to the Party for three years. [A similar situation exists] in Stalowa Wola. Why is it that dozens and dozens of rural Party organizations . . . have not gained a single candidate for the Party? . . . Why do District Party Committees report so many blank spots? In some districts the number of blank spots is growing."

Not only are Party organizations composed only of a few members, but the number of Party activists is too small to carry out the regime's intense propaganda campaign in the countryside. Thus *Głos Szczeciński* (Szczecin), October 15, remarked: "What is the cause of the inactivity of our basic Party organizations? In most cases they are small. Usually, they have three or four members. Most important is that they are unable to gather round them a broad number of activists." On October 12, the same newspaper scored failures in the work of activists and stated: "The selection of cadres for the propaganda apparatus must be better. There must be a better selection of lecturers and agitators. . . . Knowledge of the people's opinions and attitudes will be improved if activists and the propaganda apparatus remain constantly in touch with the basic Party organization."

Youth

Another source of Party dissatisfaction is the failure of the Union of Polish Youth (ZMP) to mobilize young people in support of the regime program. Postponement of the Second ZMP Congress, originally scheduled for November 19, to January 1955, is one sign of prevailing difficulties. The chief reason given for this step was that the Union had to concentrate its efforts on participation in the national council election campaign. However, a shake-up of the ZMP leadership, as well as severe complaints about ZMP work, revealed that another motive was the need to improve conditions within the organization before the Congress is held.* Communist speakers at the March Party Congress provided insight into ZMP shortcomings when they complained that over two million rural youths were "out of reach" of ZMP organizations and that only 340,000 peasant youths belong to ZMP. Further, most of the peasant ZMP members come from collectivized areas, while the non-collectivized areas are largely without ZMP groups. This fact is significant in view of the Party's collectivization propaganda campaign in the countryside. Conditions in the urban area are also unsatisfactory. The ZMP has failed to recruit a sufficient number of workers and many workers have "fallen under the influence of bourgeois elements. In factories, for example, not more than one tenth of the eligible youths have joined ZMP."

ZMP shortcomings noted at the Party Congress in March continued into the autumn, and the October issue of *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw) voiced its dissatisfaction with Party leadership of the youth organization when it wrote:

"How is it possible to be reconciled with the fact that, for instance, the percentage of ZMP members among young Stalinogrod [Katowice] miners decreased to nearly 40 percent? . . . Or with the fact that in [such places] as the Lenin Steel Mill or the Bierut Mill in Czechochowa only 25-30 percent of the young people belong to ZMP? . . . How is it possible to condone the fact that the percentage of ZMP members among rural youth is only 15 percent in the entire country—in Lublin 10.5 percent, in Warsaw province about 10 percent and in Bialystok prov-

ince only 6.3 percent. . . .? We have many groups in which the entire activity is based upon the chairman, who governs a small group of activists as if he were a dictator. . . . Is it possible to accept the fact that Trade Unions, which assemble in their ranks hundreds of thousands of workers of both sexes, make no effort whatever to establish permanent collaboration with ZMP and fail to develop sufficient activity among youth?"

The regime's failure to mobilize youth appears to be reflected in the low number of recruits gained for work on State farms. At the July Plenum of the Central Committee it was announced that cultivation of fallow lands occupied a major place on the New Course agricultural agenda, and that a large part of these lands—which cover an area of about 800,000 hectares—would be given to State farms for cultivation. The new manpower required on the State farms was to come chiefly from ZMP pioneers. On October 21, it was reported that 4,000 young men and women had volunteered for this work. Considering the fact that the total amount of reserves to be cultivated probably requires about 60,000 new workers, 4,000 is a negligible number. One reason for the small number of recruits probably is the fact that conditions on the new State farms are hard. According to both official and nonofficial reports, poor housing, low wages, hunger and the apparent hostility of the local population have caused much dissatisfaction among the pioneers. Despite these conditions, however, the fact that the original number of young people who volunteered as pioneers was only 4,000 testifies to the ZMP's failure.

National Councils

Further insight into political conditions and the Party's New Course focus on agriculture was provided by the reorganization of the administrative setup in rural areas and the announcement of elections to national councils.* The reorganization strengthens the basic administrative unit—the village commune—and establishes commune national councils which are to weld the local administration more firmly to the national administrative structure. As the text of the reorganization law states, "the commune national councils, as organs of State authority in administrative villages, shall direct the economic, social and cultural activities in the territory . . . linking the needs of administrative units in villages with overall State tasks."

The December elections to the national councils are the first to be held on a uniform nationwide basis since the war; prior to this, national councils were either appointed or elected at *ad hoc* meetings convened by the authorities. In announcing the elections, the Polish regime, as regimes elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain, probably intended to use them as a springboard for conducting an intense propaganda campaign and arousing mass support for the New Course economic program. From recent press reports it seems that the peasants have voiced extreme skepticism with regard to the elections and the reorganization, and

* See December 1954 issue, p. 55.

* See November 1954 issue, p. 56.

have revealed their continued, deep-seated mistrust of the regime.

Unsatisfactory results in the election campaign were recorded by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), October 24, which pointed out that Communists must not relax their propaganda efforts and assume that the Party will win the elections in any case. *Trybuna Ludu* stressed that it was not enough to win the elections merely by getting the necessary votes. "The masses," the newspaper wrote, "must be incited to new initiative and activity," and the fact that there is a single list of candidates "should not deter propagandists from convincing voters of the candidates' worth":

"Comrades from Nowy Sacz County [Cracow] have acted thoughtlessly. Such an important matter as a commune meeting, at which the Commune National Front Committee is established, was conducted in an bureaucratic way. The text of an election leaflet entitled, 'Organs of the People's Authority Closer to the Masses,' was simply handed over to the village head of Namajowa. The village chief merely read it to the peasants and then took the list of candidates out of his pocket. . . . The gathering approved the list . . . and in this manner the formality was completed. Such a procedure is very damaging."

Other evidence of the people's indifference to the elections was provided by Radio Warsaw, October 31, which stated that some peasants had expressed the following "incorrect" opinion: "What is all the to-do about these councils? They will have nothing to say. Anyway, somebody high up decides." A similar reaction was recorded by *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), November 6, which quoted the minutes of an election meeting attended by nine people in a rural commune in Ciechanow County: "Why do we have to go to meetings and strain our tongues for nothing? The names of the candidates will be brought in briefcases anyway."

The regime has been confronted not only by widespread peasant apathy, but by fear and hatred as well. This attitude is partially illustrated by rumors circulated about the administrative reorganization and elections to the commune national councils. *Zielony Sztandar* (Warsaw), October 31, recorded one rumor as follows: "After the election it will no longer be possible for peasants to go from one commune to another without permission." Another rumor consisted in the belief that the newly-elected councilmen will sign declarations that peasants in their districts are willing to join collectives.

Peasant hostility is also revealed in regime reports insisting that kulak activity must be combatted. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), October 28, claimed that "kulak-speculator elements are foaming with rage and continuing their fight. . . . Compelled to reconcile themselves [to the establishment of commune national councils] they have tried to infiltrate the councils with their own followers so that they can carry out their filthy designs." Similarly, *Zielony Sztandar* (Warsaw), October 31, reported: "The enemy also wants to exploit these elections. The enemy's intention is to comment cynically on the closer ties between the people's authority and the countryside." The above quotations reveal that many peasants resent the establishment of

commune councils because they apparently fear that greater pressure now will be exerted upon them. Instead of cooperating in the election campaign, they have remained suspicious.

That the Party wants to obtain the active cooperation of the masses is evident from election propaganda as well as from recent speeches by top Communists. In his address to the March Party Congress Jacob Berman summed up regime goals when he stated: "We are all aware that it is impossible to carry out such great tasks as those put forth at our Second Congress by the forces of Party activists and Party members alone. The realization of these tasks requires the upswing of the all-national movement [the National Front]." In order to gain mass confidence, the regime apparently is attempting to steer a middle, though "conservative," road. It wants the people to participate more energetically in local activities, but at the same time it is being careful to preserve Party control.

This attitude has been manifested in instructions to Party Committees and activists, who carry the main burden of the New Course campaign. Thus *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), November 9, strongly criticized sectarianism—or leftist methods—when it stated that "the situation must not be continued in which Party members resort to methods of pressure and bureaucracy, and substitute shouting for militancy, orders for ties with the masses, and personal safety and welfare for revolutionary vigilance." On the other hand, the Party also has warned against the danger of failing to retain "proper" leadership. In this respect,



rys. Tadeusz Kobak

Caption: "And you, as head of the village, have you delivered your grain yet?"

—"Do I have time to think about my own affairs?"

Szpilki (Warsaw), August 8, 1954

the October issue of *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw), in a discussion of internal Party democracy, warned that elections to Party organs cannot be conducted in a "spontaneous manner" as this would do great harm to the Party in that membership in Party organs would sometimes be "accidental."

Heavy Industry

The industrial goals announced at the Ninth Plenum and at the Party Congress in March included the further development of heavy industry, particularly the iron ore and coal industries, as well as the expansion of other crucial raw material branches. The half-year results, announced by the Central Statistical Office on July 21, 1954, declared that the plan for heavy industry had been exceeded with regard to some basic means of production: steel, rolled goods, iron ores, zinc ores, copper ores, coke, natural gas, petroleum products, electric energy, machine tools for metals, heavy electric machines, mining machines, machines and installations for the chemical industry, farm machinery and implements, buses, tractors, sea vessels, phosphorous fertilizers and motor car tires, all these were included in this list. On the other hand, the Ministry for Metallurgy failed to implement the plan for pig iron and certain non-ferrous metals, the Ministry for Mining failed to fulfill the plan for hard coal extraction, and the Machine Industry Ministry did not achieve the plan for *Warsaw*-make cars, certain types of freight and passenger wagons and ball bearings. In addition, the Ministry for Chemical Industry failed to meet the planned goals for production of sulphuric acid, soda and nitrogen fertilizers, and the Building Materials Ministry did not produce sufficient amounts of cement and bricks.

Contrary to custom, the Third Quarter plan results were published only in brief and without detailed statistical data. In a general summary of the Third Quarter, *Trybuna Ludu*, October 31, claimed that the plan for coal production was overfulfilled, although deficits from the first half of the year had not been made up. The foundry and machine industries also fulfilled the plan, which indicates that shortcomings announced in the first half of the year were partially eliminated in the Third Quarter. In pig iron and some branches of the machine industry, however, the plan was not fulfilled, and attention was called to the need of improving production of farm machinery. Also, while the building industry overfulfilled the brick production plan, the plan for cement production continued to be underfulfilled.

From the above reports alone, it would appear that, for the most part, 1954 heavy industrial production is being carried out without major difficulty. However, other official sources point to severe domestic scarcities of coal and raw materials and lags in the coal industry. To fulfill Six Year Plan goals, coal production in 1954 was expected to increase by about 5.7 million tons, but in view of recent regime complaints, it seems that this increase will not be achieved and that the government is having trouble attaining present scheduled production levels. On December 3, it was revealed that coal production had increased only

2.6 million tons over 1953. Further, a recent item from Vienna stated that Poland is in arrears in coal deliveries to Finland and that Finland has attempted to secure coal from England. It also was stated that the price of Polish coal had been increased by 90 cents per ton, which also forced Denmark to seek English coal.

Although Poland is now the fifth largest coal producer in the world, the government's failure to increase coal production at the required rate has resulted in insufficient amounts of coal for domestic consumption. This factor has created serious problems, since in the past few years Polish domestic industry has sharply increased its coal consumption, as is indicated by the fact that industrial production has increased 3.6 times over 1949. Further, the non-industrial demand for coal, which is the nation's most important source of power, also has risen with growing urbanization and transportation. Since coal is Poland's most important source of power, and its chief means of getting badly needed goods from the West, the outcome of the present campaign to keep domestic coal consumption at a minimum is of utmost importance.*

The present campaign for coal savings and the attempt to remove shortcomings in mining have been reflected steadily in the regime press. One of the major problems in mining is the high rate of labor turnover. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), March 15, for example, complained that due to negligence and insufficient care of miners' living conditions, almost 83 percent of the newly-hired workers had quit their jobs in 1953. On September 2, Radio Warsaw announced that the government had authorized wage increases for miners and modified the payment system to increase incentive rewards for greater production. This measure was an effort to cut down on the high labor turnover noted earlier in the year and to pacify miners, who have continually complained about inadequate rewards for fulfillment and overfulfillment of production quotas.**

The importance of the coal savings campaign was indicated by a July 7 conference on this subject in Warsaw. At that time, the waste of coal by foundries, and the chemical and consumer goods industries was severely criticized. The regime announced that greater use must be made of low quality and brown coal and that a system of severe economy must be installed. The same point was emphasized in the Third Quarter plan results, and on October 16, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) revealed that, despite previous warnings, wasting of coal still continued to endanger the economy, and that directives for coal saving had not been carried out. The newspaper said that whereas the fuel industry had considerably reduced the amount of coal used per productive unit, the cement industry continued to waste considerable amounts. Similarly, while the railroad industry has managed to make use of coal gravel and slag, the chemical industry has failed to increase use of scrap materials. "There are cases which testify to the lack of elementary coal economy, as for example, in the Djer-

* While Poland seeks to export coal to the West, it must also export coal to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany, as well as to the Soviet Union.

** See October 1954 issue, p. 43.

zhinsky foundry, where [undistributed] coal has been put aside for four years, thereby losing its fuel value; as in the case of cement plants where [pea-sized] coal was used instead of coal gravel. The utilization of auxiliary fuel, brown coal and peat, also is insufficient. More attention should be paid to this problem. . . ."

As for other raw materials, a recent announcement by the Ministry of Education of a contest for collecting secondary raw materials, suggests that there are shortages in such items as steel scrap, iron scrap and non-ferrous metal scraps. The government plans to buy up the scrap collected by students at certain specified prices, and the schools which sell the State the largest quantities of secondary raw materials will receive prizes from the Central Administration of Industrial Secondary Raw Materials. In light of the above-mentioned economy campaigns, it seems that despite the announced gains in heavy industrial production, there continue to be numerous deficiencies in that sector.

Consumer Goods

According to New Course plans, consumer goods investments are supposed to increase by 30-38 percent in 1955. The projected production increases in specific commodities include the following: rye and wheat bakery products by some 15 percent; fish preserves by 36 percent; meat by 17 percent; animal fats by 24 percent; fish by 14 percent; woolen textiles by 11 percent; cotton textiles by 12 percent; silk products by about 20 percent; shoes by about 22 percent; soap by 16 percent; furniture by about 26 percent; radio sets by about 34 percent; sugar by 7 percent; motorcycles by about 125 percent; bicycles by about 79 percent; enamel kitchen utensils by about 40 percent; sewing machines threefold.* The resolution of the Party Congress also provided for an increased supply of raw materials to individual handicraft workshops, and instructed national councils to improve the administration of local industries and socialized sectors of the economy. In the last two years of the Six Year Plan (1954, 1955), the number of service centers under the supervision of the Ministry of Small Industry and Handicraft is to be increased by 40 percent.

Despite regime assertions that consumer goods production is to be increased substantially, the revised 1955 planned goals for cotton and silk textiles are below the planned 1955 goals in the original Six Year Plan. Wool textiles, soap and shoe production targets, however, have been raised substantially, and these expanded goals conform with the new, extensive plans for livestock production. Sugar production is projected only slightly above the 1953 level and the original 1955 goal. The most substantial planned increases appear to be in radio receivers, motorcycles, bicycles, etc.—that is, in goods which require raw materials and productive facilities that also could be used to manufacture producer goods. Further, it is interesting to note that according to *Inwestycje i Budownictwo* (Warsaw), February 1954, the total increase contemplated

* These figures were taken from *Nowe Drogi* (March). The figures published at the Ninth Plenum are in some cases lower than those increases announced in March. See January 1954 issue, p. 9. See June 1954 issue, pp. 15-19 for consumer goods and trade.

in consumer goods investments for 1954 is 11.1 percent. This means that unless investments are sharply raised in 1955, they will fall far short of the original 30-35 percent increase originally planned.*

The half-year plan results and recent press editorials have thrown light on achievements and difficulties in consumer goods production. According to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 21, mid-year results were uneven: some consumer goods were produced above the plan and showed quality improvements, while others were below plan targets and of inferior quality. Success was announced in production plans for cotton textiles, flax fabrics, silk fabrics, men and women's clothes, men's socks, rubber shoes, furniture, table china, table and fancy glass, radio sets, sewing machines, motorcycles, cosmetics, smoked and cured meat, sea fish, candies, chocolate, wine and beer. On the other hand, the Ministry for Light Industry failed to fulfill the plan for woolen textiles and leather shoes, and the Ministry for the Meat and Dairy Industry failed to meet the production plan for butter and meat.

In connection with the above failures, it is significant to note that shortages of meat and butter continued into the autumn and that the ten-month plan results published by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), November 19, revealed that 1954 increases in the supply of meat and dairy products were small as compared with other years. In the first ten months of 1954, the supply of milk increased by 6.7 percent, eggs by 10.1 percent and bread by 6 percent. Even taking into consideration the two months still not accounted for, 1954 increases appear insignificant as compared with 1952 increases over 1951: in that period, the increase in milk production was allegedly 18 percent, bread 25 percent and eggs 26 percent. Similarly, in 1953 meat deliveries increased by 17 percent over 1952 and animal fats by 38 percent, whereas this year meat deliveries so far have increased by only 3.5 percent and animal fats by 9.4 percent. These figures would indicate that despite propaganda about improved supplies, the situation with respect to the above products has not substantially improved within the past year.

The *Trybuna Ludu* article which announced the ten-month results tried to explain "temporary" shortages of milk and meat in terms of the people's increased purchasing power and growing consumer demands. Claiming that the above-mentioned increases, as well as a 28.8 percent rise in butter supplies, a 17 percent rise in wheat flour, a 6.7 percent increase in groats, a 14.9 percent increase in fish, and a 24.4 percent increase in sugar, proved that more supplies were being delivered to the people, the newspaper claimed that the tempo of farm production had not kept pace with consumer demands and buying power:

"During the current year, due to two successive price decreases, as well as an increase in labor productivity and the increase of wages of some groups of workers [miners, railway workers, teachers, State farm workers and scientific

* The breakdown of investment increases for consumer goods were announced as follows: chemical industry, 8.5 percent; light industry, 24.2 percent; food processing industry, 17.9 percent; meat and milk industry, 46.4 percent; wood and paper, 4.3 percent.



Caption: "Such a huge threshing machine for so little grain?" —"Don't worry, the machine doesn't work in any case."

Szpilki (Warsaw), September 5, 1954

workers] the buying power of the people rose considerably. . . . This would not cause any disturbances if the tempo in the increase in farm production were larger. . . . It also is necessary to remember that the question of increased food consumption is closely connected with fulfillment of the plan for industrial consumer goods articles. *The shortages of some indispensable consumer goods articles causes a larger demand for foodstuffs and deepens the disproportion in this respect.* (Italics added)

Trybuna Ludu also pointed out another reason for the meat shortage. According to the newspaper, the livestock census taken in June showed that the livestock population had not increased over the previous period and that, in addition, there were more young hogs than adult hogs; "This means that the increase of supply will be moved forward to the next months. A similar situation also exists with respect to cattle. . . . [Further,] during the last few years there was excessive slaughtering of cows and horses. After the Second Party Congress, this slaughtering was halted and this caused transitory difficulties." *Trybuna Ludu* also claimed that difficulties were caused by poor functioning of the State purchasing apparatus, with the result that no more meat was supplied to the market this October than last October and in view of increased consumer demands, there was a shortage. As for the butter scarcity, *Trybuna Ludu* explained it by stating that in summer and early autumn peasants were busy with field work and therefore did not bring their butter to town:

"One could ask the question: why, if the situation was

like this, we could not cover the demand for meat and butter from government reserves? The reserves are collected exactly for that purpose, and to some extent they were used. However, can the State allow reserves to become exhausted which will be needed during the winter season when supplies will be even shorter?"

Productivity and Production Costs

A major condition for Polish New Course success is the lowering of production costs and the raising of productivity. In his speech to the Second Party Congress Hilary Minc said that as compared with 1953, work productivity in 1955 is expected to increase by about 15 percent in industry, 16 percent in construction, 8 percent in railroad transportation and about 20 percent on State Farms. The mid-year plan results, announced by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 21, noted sizeable gains in this sector: as compared with the first half of 1953, productivity in "Socialized" industry allegedly increased by 9 percent, and in construction by 13 percent. Despite these gains, however, production costs remain high. *Trybuna Ludu* complained that while some factories had reduced their raw material consumption, a considerable number of factories had exceeded the planned coal consumption norms. Further, in discussing the Third Quarter Plan results, *Trybuna Ludu* stated that the plan for lowering production costs was not being fulfilled satisfactorily.

A clue to the importance of lowering production costs was provided by Hilary Minc in his speech to the March Party Congress. Minc announced that in 1954-1955 sav-

ings through reduction of production costs are to amount to more than twenty billion *zloty*, which will constitute more than 12 percent of the wage fund to be spent on the social economy in this period. Failure to carry out this plan, Minc said, would threaten the entire policy of price reductions and wage increases the regime intends to pursue. Further, the extent of losses caused by high production costs was indicated by Bierut, who in his address to the Congress stated that from December 15, 1948 to March 10, 1954, the plan for reducing industrial production costs had not been met and that losses in 1953 alone amounted to 1.2 billion *zloty* in the entire economy.

Rejects

A major factor in boosting production costs has been poor quality output. The half-year plan results claimed that while certain progress had been made with regard to improving the quality of cotton and linen fabrics, knitted articles, furniture, confectionary and toilet soap, as well as products put out by the machine and chemical industries—i.e., motorcycles, electric light bulbs, etc.—the planned improvement was not achieved in woolen textiles, ladies' stockings and shoes. Further, radio sets, bicycle chains, seed drills, threshers, cultivators and tractor sheaf binders still continued to be defective. Other press information indicates that the number of rejects produced is still high, despite the warnings issued in March by Bierut and Minc.* This situation is reflected not only in editorials complaining about shoddy production but also in communiques announcing the imprisonment of various workers and managers on the charge of permitting and even encouraging poor workmanship.

In an effort to eliminate poor quality production, the government issued a March 4, 1953 decree stating that workers who turn out defective wares for the market are liable to jail sentences for a period up to five years. In recent months this decree has been used as the basis for penalizing a number of negligent officials. On June 22, for example, *Trybuna Ludu* announced that managers from the December 15 Agricultural Implements Factory in Poznan had been sentenced to prison for approving the production of unsuitable machines. Similarly, the Szczecin County Court recently sentenced the technical chief of a knitwear factory to eighteen months in prison for releasing for sale 1,300 ladies' tennis socks which were unfit for use because of irregularities in size and shape. In still another trial, the Warsaw Provincial Court sentenced an inspector in an electric casting plant to jail for assigning forty brass rollers for recasting, although they were not fit for further recasting. In reporting these cases, *Trybuna Ludu* declared: "Recently, the provincial prosecutor's office referred to court a number of other cases against workers responsible for putting shoddy articles on the market."

Another indication of the prevalence of poor workmanship was provided by *Trybuna Ludu* June 12, which described the inferior quality of medical instruments. The article began as follows:

"The pile of bent nails for bones, jagged chisels and

scrapers, broken hammers and surgical needles, corroded instruments—in other words, the pile of scrap lying on the desk of Associate Professor Dr. Lukasik, head surgeon of the Department of Traumatic Surgery in Hospital No. 4 in Warsaw, would not be surprising if it were seen in the workshop of a joiner, but it is rather strange on a surgeon's desk. The poor workmanship of establishments producing medical instruments, and not their careless use by doctors, is to blame. Such poor workmanship makes it very difficult for doctors to perform operations and often harmfully prolongs the time of the operation."

According to the above article, the amount of defective medical instruments being produced is truly staggering: "So far," *Trybuna Ludu* said, "the Lodz Electro-medical Apparatus Establishment holds first place as bunglers. This year they have already produced and delivered ultraviolet lamps, diathermy apparatuses, etc., to warehouses, all unfit for use and valued at 1,339,000 *zloty*." The newspaper concluded that the examples cited in the medical field can be duplicated in a host of other sectors.

Despite the penalties inflicted on inefficient managers and the numerous articles calling for better quality production, the situation apparently did not improve in autumn, and on September 17, Radio Warsaw called upon the trade network to join the campaign against shoddy production:

"Industry is at present fighting to improve the quality of production. Although there have been considerable achievements in this field, there also are certain factories which produce, for example, toys which can injure a child, a mirror which falls apart, or shoes which are unsuitable for wear. Not all quality controllers in factories work with the full feeling of responsibility . . . but apart from these controllers, all shops should also see to it that no substandard goods reach the consumer.

"Many people do not realize that the trade network not only has the right but indeed the duty to refuse to accept substandard goods. Some people still seem to think that they can go on selling poor quality goods unpunished, that they can continue the ill-famed traditions of capitalist trade. But the people's laws protect the working people



Caption: There weren't any smaller sizes but, as you can see, this model is just right for autumn. . . .

Szpilki (Warsaw), November 7, 1954

* See June 1954 issue, p. 18.

from this soullessness. A decree of March of last year emphasizes that the sale of industrial articles of poor quality is a clear offense, which is as injurious to the economic and social interests of the Polish People's Republic as economic sabotage. . . . The determined attitude of trade employees will help the industrial establishment to uncover those who produce substandard goods, to analyze the work of all staff members, and to force everybody to work better."

Sideline Production

Another source of waste and industrial inefficiency is the refusal of factories manufacturing producer goods to make use of scrap metals for secondary consumer goods production. In an October 20 broadcast, Radio Warsaw pointed out that despite regime injunctions to improve supplies of mass consumption industrial articles, many factories had neglected to adjust their production in accordance with these directives:

"Why has the Sanok railway car factory, which had 30 tons of sheet metal from scrap used only 108 kilograms of it for sideline production? . . . Why have the L-8 Works in Bydgoszcz, which planned to produce 5,000 paper clips for office files, failed to produce even one? . . . Sideline production plans show that . . . we, who within the space of a few years, have succeeded in constructing and expanding a large engineering industry are sometimes afraid of safety pins and nails, of clips and meat-mincer blades. Like the Ursus, many establishments have altered their sideline production plans, gradually reducing the range of planned goods, selecting for production the least complicated articles. As a result, we have enough metal tips for shoes to last for the next twenty years. We have considerable amounts of garbage cans and large three-inch nails. But the Wroclaw Pafaweg Works which, in addition to railway cars, could produce plows and so forth, continues to produce coal shovels. The Stalin Works of Poznan, which reported in all seriousness to the press the successful production of the prototype of a poker also could produce the planned toys for children."

The above article indicates that in addition to poor quality production and high production costs, Polish factories have contributed to industrial shortcomings by refusing to adjust their production plans to meet consumer needs. Instead, they continue to overproduce certain types of goods, or fail to produce the planned goods, either because it is cheaper or more convenient for them to do so. This situation probably results from two factors: first, allocations for consumer goods are probably too small; and secondly, the premium system for factories is arranged in such a way that managers find it more profitable to overproduce heavy industrial goods or consumer articles made with little labor and effort rather than to convert to production of consumer goods articles for which there is a small premium, and which require more work and manpower.

Consumption and Retail Trade

Regime claims about the people's growing purchasing power were confirmed by mid-year statistics on rising con-

sumption. According to the half-year plan results, the goal for retail turnover in "Socialized" trade, including collective catering, was fulfilled by 101 percent. In comparative prices, retail turnover allegedly increased by 18 percent as compared with the first half of 1953, and the bulk of food articles sold increased as follows: meat and meat products—2 percent; fish—49 percent; fish preserves—28 percent; animal fats—4 percent; butter—20 percent; wheat flour—48 percent; cereals and cereal flakes—9 percent; sugar—22 percent; tea—34 percent; wine—16 percent; cigarettes—9 percent; and fruit more than threefold. Among industrial consumer goods articles, the sale of cotton textiles was said to have increased by 6 percent, silk fabrics by 12 percent, radio sets by 26 percent, sewing machines by 90 percent, furniture by 9 percent, enamel utensils by 34 percent, and aluminum utensils 13 times. Further, an improvement was recorded in the supply of the rural population: the half-year plan for village trade turnover was fulfilled by 104 percent, and the turnover in comparative prices increased by 22 percent over the same period in 1953.*

The retail trade expansion program projected for the years 1954-1955, called for a 25 percent increase in the "Socialist" sector. It seems therefore that the 18 percent increase in the first half of 1954 over the corresponding period of 1953 will allow overfulfillment of the target by the end of the year. However, the plan for the expansion of retail trade as announced by the regime is comparatively modest, and difficulties in this sector have been admitted to constitute a serious problem, especially in the rural area where the Communists are attempting to release more industrial consumer supplies in an effort to give peasants incentive to raise farm production. Further, it should be pointed out that regime statistics on increases in consumer supplies cannot be considered reliable. Although consumption probably has gone up, it probably has not risen the full 18 percent claimed by the regime. This is indicated by the fact that the people's purchasing power did not rise 18 percent from January 1, 1953 to June 1954, despite various concessions, two price reductions and wage increases for teachers, farm workers and railway employees. Since the majority of the people have no savings and since growing consumption must be accompanied by an even greater increase in purchasing power, (and this increase did not take place), it must be assumed that the government's statistics were manipulated.

The importance of improving the internal trade network and consumer services has been discussed frequently in recent months, and in September the regime took steps to remedy prevailing conditions. These measures were motivated partly by the fact that in the half year plan results, it was announced that the Ministry of Small Industry and Handicrafts had underfulfilled its production plan. Thus, on September 3, Radio Warsaw broadcast a Council of

* The half-year plan results also contained the following: "By fulfilling the resolutions of the Second Party Congress, a second reduction in retail prices took place within the goods turnover and collective catering, and there was a reduction in the prices for services rendered. This reduction brings to the people an annual savings of about 6 billion zloty." *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 21, 1954.

Ministers' resolution which announced the planned increase in the number of service establishments and steps for improvement of distribution. Later in the month, the regime announced the organization of a Central Union of Handicraft and Service Cooperatives composed of existing cooperatives. Planned production increases for the union were made public for such articles as furniture, kitchen utensils, household articles and shoes, and it was stated that the value of services provided by the organization is supposed to amount to about 15.5 billion *zlotys* in 1954.

Shortcomings in the service network were discussed by Radio Warsaw, September 21, in a broadcast entitled, "A Problem of No Small Importance," which threw light on present deficiencies and future goals. The Communist commentator said that although in the past two years the number of service points had multiplied fourfold, the present state of affairs was still unsatisfactory, and that in many parts of Poland, particularly in rural areas, it was difficult to find a stove maker, a mechanic, a shoe-repair shop or a tailor. Further, those service points in existence tend to work for various offices and enterprises and ignore individuals, and, in general, the quality of services is poor.

"By carrying out new directives of the Council of Ministers, improvements will be effected in this field. [The directives] foresee that in 1955 there will be about 38,000 more servicing points, so that by the end of 1955 there will be about 154,000 of these points. With a view to . . . improving the quality of services and on-schedule fulfillment of orders, the decision outlines special bonuses for service point employees and at the same time increases control over them. The decision emphasizes the great role allocated to private craftsmen in satisfying the needs of the population, thus doing away with the lack of understanding . . . still existing in some local organs. . . . The number of private craftsmen's servicing points will be increased, especially in rural areas. Their supplies will be increased. Craftsmen at present employed on other work will be encouraged to return to their crafts and there will be tax reductions for them."

In a November 15 speech to the Craftsmen's Conference, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Gede also stressed the importance of private handicraftsmen in boosting consumer supplies and increasing service points. Gede said: "While supporting and strengthening the cooperative forms in small-scale industry and handicrafts as most effective from the point of view of the national economy and as most advantageous to small-scale industrial workers and craftsmen, the people's state also is extending much help to individual craftsmen." Gede said that although in the third quarter some 2,500 craftsmen's workshops—1,000 in the rural sector—had been set up, further development was required and that while the regime favored the collective form, "the Party and Government would always respect the principle of the voluntary character of craftsmen's transition from individual to collective work."

The above complaints suggest that consumer supplies and services, particularly in the rural area, are still far from satisfactory, despite regime claims of growing consumption.

Agriculture

The unsatisfactory rate of farm production still seems to be the regime's chief concern and the focus of New Course plans. At the March Party Congress Deputy Premier Zenon Nowak stated that the acceleration of agricultural development, production of cereals and livestock breeding now constitute the "key objectives" of the government's program: "The disproportion between the development of industry and agriculture," he said, "must be bridged in order to carry out successfully the tasks we have undertaken." The same point was emphasized by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), March 10, which stated that the elimination of the disproportion between industrial and agricultural development was the crucial task of the present period. "This is being served by the government," the newspaper said, "which envisages considerably greater and all-around help to peasants farming individually, and increased assistance to the collective farm movement, which today embraces over 200,000 farmsteads."

In view of regime aims, it is significant to note that in the half-year plan results all the ministries allegedly overfulfilled the plan with the exception of the Meat and Dairy Industry, which achieved plan targets by only 96 percent.* Further, the communique claimed that while the area of wheat cultivation had increased by about six percent and that of sugar beets by four percent, the plan for liquidating fallow land had been conducted unevenly and with great delay. The importance of regime plans for extending the area under cultivation was stressed at the July Plenum of the Party's Central Committee, where it was decided that "suitable conditions" must be created for utilizing the 750,000 hectares still lying fallow.** One of these "conditions" was the assignment of large areas of fallow land to State Farms, which were to be cultivated chiefly by young workers recruited by the ZMP (Youth Union). According to recent reports, the number of recruits is small, and preparations for the new settlers are inadequate. (See page 5).

On October 8, *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw) cited several typical incidents which testified to the apathy which the program for liquidating fallow lands is being carried out. The newspaper stated that on the Gierkun State Farm nobody had remembered that pioneers were coming and that billets for the settlers were prepared only at the last minute. Further, the cots were placed in filthy rooms, and although

* It was stated, however, that the plan for increasing the quantity of cattle and sheep on State farms was exceeded and that milk deliveries had increased 36 percent in comparison with 1953. On the other hand, the plan for achieving the required quantity of pigs was not fulfilled, and from other complaints it was clear that livestock deliveries were poor.

** At the July Plenum Zenon Nowak stated that by the end of 1953 about 400,000 hectares were lying fallow and that about 350,000 hectares, mainly in the east, were uncultivated: "The remaining . . . thousands of hectares consisted of land without regular users. Part of this land, over 190,000 hectares, was brought under cultivation in the first half of 1954. Apart from the good areas, the fallow land no doubt includes the poorer types of soil which, to begin with, might give poor crops. But even with low yields, we could get an additional 500,000 tons of grain per year."

kerosene lamps had been purchased nobody had thought of buying wicks so that the volunteers had to spend the entire evening in the dark. Similarly, on the Zabia State Farm pioneers were directed to farms which had no room for them, and they failed to receive not only billets, but also work clothes and shoes. In Wielow, the volunteers were supposed to begin threshing as their first assignment, but this plan was never carried out because the man who was supposed to run the threshing machine left the farm without permission. Pioneers in the Maruta State Farm group had to borrow bread from another group because no food had been allocated for them, and finally, they were forced to appeal to the central management for provisions. In sum, the rugged conditions on State Farms and the indifferent reception of the pioneers do not augur well for the success of regime plans for the cultivation of fallow lands.

Although the *Trybuna Ludu* report on Third Quarter plan results completely neglected to discuss the situation in agriculture—which may indicate that the regime is having more trouble than it cares to admit—other press items listed some notable deficiencies in autumn farm work. Various Communist reports confirm that State Farms constitute one of the weakest sectors. In the past few months, the daily press has rebuked drunkenness, mismanagement and careless use of machinery by young State Farm members, and on October 31, *Trybuna Ludu* stated that potato harvesting on the established State farms was seriously lagging behind the same period in 1953. The newspaper also made the grim prediction that if State Farms continued at their present rate of winter crop sowing the “last tractor would not leave the fields before January 1955.”

The State Farm sector, however, is not the only area where work is proceeding unsatisfactorily. On November 6, the semi-monthly *Rada Narodowa* (Warsaw) provided further insight into regime difficulties when it complained that lags in farm work and on MTS stations had caused delays in autumn sowing, particularly in the voevodships of Wroclaw, Rzeszow and Koszalin. The newspaper stated that by mid-October only one quarter of all the terrain for spring sowing had been completed and that only 31 fodder storehouses had been built on collectives when 624 were planned. “This means,” the newspaper said, “that unsatisfactory care is being taken of fodder preparations for winter.” Other failures were listed. In Wroclaw, the most collectivized voevodship, only 40.7 percent of the investments in collectives had been fulfilled; in the Grajewo district, the collectives of Turczyn, Miecze and Gutki did not carry out the harvest in time; the MTS in Szczuczyn did not fulfill the work plan during harvest because of the breakdown of the binding machine, and sowing was neglected so that out of 2,230 hectares only 749 were sown. As for the potato crop, the weekly *Spoldzielnia Produkcyczna* (Warsaw), October 28, published a statement by Minister of Agriculture Emil Pszczolkowski, who said that on October 15 only 65 percent of the potatoes had been gathered from collectives, whereas during the same period of 1953, 85 percent had been collected.



Title: The horse had a good laugh.

Caption: During the period September 15-25, 119 potato-digging machines from the MTS's in the Voievodship of Koszalin covered only 7 hectares of land.

“Hee, hee, hee—On my own, with my single digging machine, I accomplished as much in ten days as 119 MTS potato-digging machines. . . .”

Chlopska Droga (Warsaw), November 7, 1954

Deliveries

In addition to the above complaints persistent reports testify to the fact that, with the exception of grain, farmers are not fulfilling their delivery quotas. The situation is particularly poor with respect to livestock, and the press has revealed that not only ordinary peasants, but national council leaders and Party members as well have refused to hand in their obligatory quotas. The press has also pointed out that while fines for failure to deliver compulsory quotas are ignored, employees of rural cooperatives make purchases on the free market without bothering to make sure that peasants have fulfilled their compulsory deliveries, which must be handed in first. A typical complaint was registered by *Trybuna Ludu* on June 8, which claimed that in the Nowy Dwor District 36 commune leaders, 28 councilmen and 45 Party members, as well as 36 members of the United Peasant Party had failed to comply with compulsory delivery quotas. The newspaper added that “such activists who fail to deliver full quotas can be found also in other districts of Warsaw province.” In autumn, the situation did not seem to improve much. On October 28, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) reported that on the 22nd of the month the monthly plan for purchasing livestock in the Cracow voievodship had been achieved by only 36 percent.* And on November 2, *Trybuna Ludu* said that although potato and milk deliveries and the tempo of livestock slaughtering had improved, peasants from Cracow, Wroclaw and Poznan were considerably in arrears in livestock deliveries.

As for grain deliveries, it would appear that conditions

* At the Warsaw national conference of meat industry activists held in June, it was reported that due to insufficient supplies of liveweight and industrial stock, the meat industry had failed to supply the market with a number of products.

are better than in previous years, although the regime has complained that fulfillment of quota obligations is still unsatisfactory. With respect to improvements, the following reports from mid-November 1952, 1953 and 1954 can be compared: *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), November 15, 1952 stated that by November 14 the number of counties where peasants had fulfilled obligatory grain deliveries and taken advantage of the fee exemptions for milling had increased to 115. On November 14, 1953, *Trybuna Ludu* reported that the number of counties where peasants had fulfilled grain deliveries and were permitted to sell their grain on the free market was 138, or approximately half of all the counties in the country. On November 13, 1954, *Trybuna Ludu* reported that these privileges had been taken advantage of by peasants from 226 counties. Since a whole county must fulfill the plan by 90 percent before individual peasants who have completed their quotas are permitted to benefit from free market sales, it seems clear that deliveries have improved.

Despite these gains, however, the regime complained that in the autumn, grain deliveries did not proceed satisfactorily in all sectors. *Trybuna Ludu*, November 2, stated that while the voievodships of Warsaw, Lodz, Stalinogrod, Opole and Bydgoszcz had overfulfilled grain deliveries, the voievodships of Szczecin, Gdansk, Koszalin and Zielona Gora were lagging behind schedule. And on November 19, *Trybuna Ludu* wrote:

"This year State deliveries of grain have been fulfilled better and more quickly than last year, but still it is necessary to deliver more grain in order to cover the needs of the town population for bread and flour. . . . It is necessary to stress that side by side with leading individual peasants and good production cooperatives, we have peasant holdings which delay deliveries and, what is worse, we have productive cooperatives which do not fulfill the delivery plan and we also have State Farms which are slow and lazy."

The Campaign in the Countryside

A clue to the intensity of the regime's campaign in the rural sector was provided by October press reports dealing with the work of rural activists. Not only did the regime issue a barrage of propaganda urging peasants to fulfill farm work, but it issued fines and penalties in cases where the milder forms of "persuasion" were unsuccessful. Thus, *Slowo Ludu* (Kielce), October 4, wrote:

"It is a shame that we have to admit that at the beginning of the [sowing and harvesting] campaign we failed. Of what was planned for the month of July, only 22 percent was achieved. In August, we analyzed the campaign under Party supervision. . . . We organized community commissions for the fulfillment of compulsory deliveries in each rural community. We mobilized 2,000 of the best activists in our country. . . . The Sentencing Collegium of the Presidium of the District National Council won great respect by enforcing a system of just and proper fines. . . . The respect for the Collegium had a very positive influence throughout our area. . . . The effect of all this was that this year our district fulfilled the yearly quotas by 90 percent—and two months earlier than last year.

Similar kinds of pressure were recommended in Rzeszow, where Party activists apparently adopted a less energetic attitude in the compulsory delivery campaign. On October 6, *Nowiny Rzeszowskie* complained that failures were due to the fact that activists did not employ "such means of mass agitation and mobilization as condemning negligent peasants by rural flashes [bulletins and daily press reports], propaganda by wired radio and individual talks. . . . In those places where all these devices were fully employed, the . . . implementation of compulsory deliveries started very quickly." The newspaper also boosted the importance of fines and penalties, although it cautioned that punishment should not be inflicted on a large scale. This conservative "middle-of-the-road" attitude illustrates Communist New Course difficulties: although the regime wants to gain peasant cooperation in the new program, it fears that a conciliatory policy will lead to a rise in peasant resistance and that farmers will take advantage of regime concessions by withholding their produce. Further, it appears that peasant hostility to the regime has not shown any marked decrease since the New Course was initiated and that the most effective weapon for making peasants comply with regime commands remains the threat of persecution. That, whenever necessary, the regime intends to rely on the immediate efficacy of this threat was revealed by *Nowiny Rzeszowskie*, which rebuked activists for taking to "liberal" a line:

"An important and almost unique medium used against negligent peasants has not been appreciated fully. It is the application of penal reports and severe punishment by fines and jail sentences. In villages from which sufficient numbers of reports of prosecution have not been submitted, compulsory deliveries are very poor, as for example, in the village of Kolszyce, which fulfilled the yearly plan by only 69.8 percent. However, punishment should not be applied on a large scale. Other means [that is, the above-mentioned propaganda devices] should be used."

That the New Course has not resulted in a more cooperative attitude on the part of the peasant was also indicated by numerous reports on the imprisonment of "kulaks." *Echo Krakowskie* (Cracow), August 12, announced that a "rich peasant" from Lodz County had been penalized for delaying compulsory livestock deliveries since April: "Wira ignored the warnings given to him by representatives of the Township National Council . . . and replied that he could not fulfill his deliveries because he needs [his livestock] for the elaborate family parties he is going to organize. The County Court of Lodz sentenced him to one year in jail." Similarly, on October 13, *Glos Szczecinski* (Szczecin) reported that non-fulfillment of compulsory delivery quotas had led to the conviction and sentencing of four peasants to 2-3 years in prison. One of the accused was charged with selling grain on the free market which should have been delivered to the State. On August 18, *Gazeta Pomorska*, published at Bydgoszcz, printed a list of "kulaks" in the district who had been heavily fined for failing to deliver their full quotas, and on August 13, *Gazeta Zielongorska* (Zielona Gora) announced that a farmer from Komorow had been arrested for spreading hostile propaganda and sabotaging deliveries.

The extent of peasant resistance was indicated by Radio Warsaw, August 20, which delivered a commentary stating that listeners were demanding more satire and humor to combat kulaks and loafers. Another clue was provided by Radio Warsaw, August 22, which complained that not only "stubborn kulaks" but also communal activists were failing "to live up to their duty of delivering grain."

Collectivization

The contradictory character of the Polish New Course is perhaps best illustrated by the regime's collectivization program. In his New Course speech, Premier Bierut announced that collectivization would be continued, but that it would be carried out on a voluntary basis. In his March speech to the Party Congress, the Premier provided concrete insight into regime plans when he stated that in 1954 the government planned to organize 3,000 new collectives. In recent months, the regime has insisted on adherence to the "voluntary principle" in collectivization, but at the same time has issued bitter complaints about the slow rate of collectivization. The half-year plan results partially substantiated these complaints: it was announced that there were 9,037 producer cooperatives in the country—which means an increase of about 1,000 over the 8,067 kolkhozes listed in December 1953. While these statistics suggest that the regime is behind schedule in its yearly collectivization plan, it is likely that more than 1,000 new collectives were established and that the lag is due to the fact that a number of old kolkhozes were dissolved.

This means that while the Communists have conducted an intense campaign to extend the collectivized area, they have been unwilling to apply the coercive Stalinist measures which, in the past, prevented kolkhoz members from leaving the collectives. Many of the New Course measures introduced by the regime are indeed self-defeating: by promising a higher standard of living to the people, by stressing "Socialist legality," and the principle of "voluntariness," the Communists have given the peasants new incentives to leave the kolkhozes, while they have made it more difficult for themselves to check this movement.

Although the regime has given almost no publicity to the dissolution of kolkhozes, discrepancies in official statistics suggest that this process has been part of the Polish New Course. For instance, at the voievodship conference in Lodz, it was reported that the creation of 145 new collectives brought the total up to 405. At the end of 1953, however, it was stated that 285 collectives existed in Lodz, which means that 25 collectives were dissolved or that the number of new kolkhozes is smaller than the regime claims. Similar discrepancies were apparent in statistics from Cracow, Kielce and Lublin. On September 9, 1953, *Zycie Gospodarcze* reported that there were 628 collectives in Lublin. Almost a year later, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 22, 1954, gave the total as 432. In Kielce, 203 cooperatives were reported to exist at the end of 1953, while *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw), June 1954, listed the total as 149. In other voievodships there are no signs of a decrease in the absolute number of kolkhozes, but it is likely that while new ones were created old ones were dissolved. Fur-



Title: Collective farm workers often take good care of their own household plots and neglect kolkhoz production.

Caption: "You go and do some work on the kolkhoz farm, Grandma; we'll manage here by ourselves . . ."

Szpilki (Warsaw), November 7, 1954

ther, in an October 27 editorial on Party failures in carrying out collectivization, *Trybuna Ludu* provided two instances of peasants leaving kolkhozes. In Nowy Sacz, the newspaper wrote, where undesirable elements were permitted to join the kolkhoz, the collective started to "decay" and members began to work their fields individually. "Eighteen members applied to be released." *Trybuna Ludu* also blamed lack of Party vigilance:

"It is no accident that, for example, the enemy found its way into the new productive cooperative in Zagornik near Wadowice. Party comrades visit Zagornik very seldom, and when they do, they do not acquaint themselves with the problem of productive cooperatives. The enemy was active and managed to mislead those who listen to gossip. The Party Committee confronted a *fait accompli*—in Zagornik only nine members remain in the cooperative."

The importance the regime places on collectivization and the difficulties activists encounter in interpreting Party line are illustrated in various press editorials complaining about "incorrect attitudes" of Party members. On October 15, for example, *Trybuna Ludu* pointed out that while the number of collectives is constantly growing, the tempo of collectivization is unsatisfactory, particularly in Kielce, Cracow, Bialystok, Warsaw and Rzeszow, where the "full possibilities" have not been exploited. The newspaper claimed that one reason for shortcomings was that Party organs often favored the higher type collective, whereas peasants who were not "completely convinced of the advantages of collective economy," favored the lower type. In other words, some Party members have been too "rigid" in their concept of collectivization. The newspaper declared that in Bydgoszcz, where there are a considerable number of collectives, the majority are of the lower type. On the other hand, in Kielce, which is a weakspot in so far as collectivization is concerned, local Party organs favor the higher type:

"Comrades who favor type III cooperatives [the highest type] often are against popularization of the lower type. As

a result, out of 192 collectives only 51 belong to type I-B and type II. Is this one cause of the slow development of collectivization in the voievodship? Indeed it is. Even more so, since local conditions—peasant farms are broken down into small holdings and proper buildings are lacking—show that lower types should be popularized there.”

Trybuna Ludu warned also that forcible collectivization was an incorrect policy: “Every form of compulsion, every violation of the voluntary principle in the organization of cooperatives, does not help but harms the cause, does not accelerate but delays the victory.” Aside from what might be called “leftist deviation,” however, the regime also has lashed out at the laxity and indifference of Party members. *Trybuna Ludu* claimed, for example, that many peasants who were Party members had not set an example by joining collectives, and indicated that such an attitude would result in expulsion from Party ranks:

“At the last conference of the Cracow Party organization, it was established that in villages where productive cooperatives already exist, more than 750 Party members had not joined. The Cracow Conference justly considered this a disquieting situation and concluded . . . that many Party members are detached from our Party line and that some have yielded to enemy propaganda. The Cracow organization decided to increase the ideological tasks in village Party organizations, and at the same time removed . . . the masked speculators who hide behind Party cards. Other voievodships followed this example.”

Furthermore, many Party activists have exhibited confusion in carrying out Party line and, as a consequence, have been accused of leaning too far towards “liberalism.” Thus *Glos Szczecinski* (Szczecin), October 12, complained that collectivization had not proceeded steadily in the past year because Party activists misconstrued the regime’s conciliatory attitude towards individual peasants to mean that further collectivization was not desirable: “Especially during preparations for the Second Party Congress the possibilities for organizing new kolkhozes were missed because these were not exploited by activists. Some activists isolated the task of helping individual peasants from the task of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. They were attracted by the theory, ‘the worse the better.’” The regional Party organ in Kielce, *Slowo Ludu*, October 11, revealed another source of difficulty when it complained that activists were unable to combine the task of enforcing deliveries with the task of developing collectivization. This admission not only reveals that the regime requires a huge number of activists to carry out the various aspects of its farm program but it also shows that peasant resentment to collectivization is being met with a refusal to meet delivery obligations. Complaints similar to those mentioned above were voiced by *Sztandar Ludu* (Lublin), October 3, which revealed that “misconceptions of Party line” were not limited to isolated cases:

“Rural activists are very sluggish in popularizing kolkhozes, convincing peasants to establish new ones or to join existing kolkhozes. The appraisal of kolkhoz life by the collectivized peasants has not brought successful results because of the conspiracy of silence which reigns among

activists. Consequently, individual peasants assume that those who joined the collective farms fell victim to their own stupidity and now want to save face by praising the kolkhoz to which they belong. Individual farmers are wrong to think that now that the eyes of the Party and government are directed towards increasing farm production and also towards increasing production on individual farms, further establishment of new kolkhozes is not being planned. Such thinking is, of course, a serious misunderstanding resulting from the negligence of activists. Activists who are fighting for immediate achievement of compulsory deliveries and for popularization of contract action forget their chief duty, which is the organization of new kolkhozes and the winning over of new members for already existing kolkhozes. . . . Let’s fight for increasing the number of collective farm members and for increased adherence to the Socialist reform of agriculture.”

The following quotation, which appeared in *Nowiny Rzeszow* (Rzeszow) sums up regime difficulties in agriculture with respect to New Course plans. On October 8, the newspaper wrote:

“ . . . Causes for shortcomings and failures to implement directives of the Ninth Plenum and the Second Party Congress should be discussed at the [provincial congress]. . . . Did our Party organizations and authorities exert the maximum effort to achieve the directives? . . . What will be the answer of the delegates from the districts of Lubaczow, Lesk, Ustrzyce, where cultivation of idle land was completely disregarded? What is the reason that our State-owned farms have faulty and even harmful economies? Why, despite favorable conditions, does the collectivization of farms develop so poorly in Mielce, Nizany, Debice and Lancut . . . and does not develop at all in Gorlice, Korsno, Kolbuszow? [These districts range over almost the entire province]. What is the reason why in so many kolkhozes agricultural and livestock production is lagging behind and quotas were not reached?” (Italics added)

Concessions

It is interesting to note that almost all the conciliatory measures passed during the New Course have been directed at the rural sector.* These measures have included an attempt to improve kolkhoz efficiency by pinpointing responsibility on collective farms and giving kolkhoz workers incentives through a readjusted payment system and new premiums for overfulfillment of quotas. Another decree was aimed at improving working conditions and wages on State farms, partly by introducing a system similar to that of piece work in factories, and by granting credits to State farm workers for housing and livestock purchases. The government also passed a resolution on credits—both long and short term—to farmers for purchase of livestock, agricultural development and housing construction. Aside from collective farmers, this decree included and to some degree favored independent small and middle farmers.

* See July 1954 issue, p. 56; see March 1954 issue, p. 55; see April 1954 issue, pp. 47-50; for concessions passed earlier in the New Course—from October 1953 to the end of the year, see February 1954 issue, pp. 16-20.

Other measures dealt with the spring sowing campaign, cultivation of wastelands, the increase of flax and hemp production, and with facilitating milk purchases and raising the quality of dairy production. The above regulations and partial concessions aimed at improving farm production involved only a small loosening of political control over rural areas, and a far more significant step was the plan, announced in February, for reorganizing the rural administrative setup. (See political section.) At this time it was admitted that the new village commune, "by becoming a solid administrative unit . . . will be a suitable milieu for political and social work."

Mechanization

The mechanization of agriculture occupies an important place on the list of measures designed to boost food production. According to half-year plan results, over 4,000 tractors and 555 combines were delivered to the rural areas. Further, in comparison with the same period of 1953, peasants were alleged to have received 82 percent more spring harrows, 76 percent more cultivators, 56 percent more steam cauldrons, 82 percent more spreaders, 57 percent more capstans, 36 percent more ploughshares, five percent more ploughs, four percent more chaff cutting machines, as well as various other types of small farm implements. It also was claimed that 8,000 tractor drivers and combine teams were trained for the needs of State farms and MTS. Despite these increases, however, it would appear from other official statements that mechanization will have to proceed at a still faster rate to satisfy regime needs.

At the March Party Congress Hilary Minc amplified regime goals in mechanization when he announced that between 1949 and 1953 deliveries to agriculture increased 2-2½ times and that in the period 1954-1955 mechanization must be double that of the four preceding years. The gains made between 1949 and 1953, Minc said, represented overfulfillment of the Six Year Plan, but he pointed out that "account must be taken of the fact that this increase started from a very low level." In 1954, Minc said, production of Ursus tractors should be raised to a minimum level of 8,000 and the production of spare parts to 4,400 tons, which is twice as much as is provided for in the Six Year plan with respect to this period. Minc also pointed out that the "problem is not only one of doubling production": *

"Production should also be started on a whole series of types of machines and equipment not produced hitherto, but which are needed by the country. In 1954-1956—and here we look beyond the next two years by including 1956—the agricultural machine industry will take up mass production of 34 types of machines and equipment not produced in Poland before, and which will have a con-

siderable effect in the field of economizing on manpower and mechanization of field work and stock breeding."

While the 4,000 tractors allegedly produced in the first half of the year represent fulfillment of the mid-year goal (the total for the year being 8,000), it is interesting to note that regime boasts about overfulfillment of the Six Year Plan do not correspond with the figures issued at the Ninth Plenum. The original Six Year Plan stated that by 1955 the nation should have 80,700 tractors. At the Ninth Plenum it was stated that by 1955 the number of tractors will reach 58,000, which points to a discrepancy of more than 22,000. Further, in the yearly plan results for 1952, it was announced that agriculture had been supplied with more than 8,400 tractors reckoned in terms of standard 15 hp units. If agriculture was supplied with that amount in 1952, the 1954 goal of 8,000 does not represent any increase, much less a sign that production is doubling. It is possible that in its plans for increases the regime intends to concentrate on production of smaller farm machinery. In any case, the extent of mechanization in Poland is still relatively small. According to a statement of the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in the July 1950 issue of *Nowe Drogi*, if the 1955 mechanization plan for agriculture is fulfilled, 18.8 percent of Polish agriculture will be mechanized. This means that unless the regime actually does exceed the Six Year Plan goals, 81.2 percent will still be dependent on animal power.

It would appear from Communist shortcomings in agriculture, industry and the Party that regime claims about further expanding heavy industry and developing agriculture and consumer goods production at the same time were optimistic. Shortages of meat and dairy products, lags in coal production, unsatisfactory development of consumer goods supplies and inefficient Party work and blankspots in Party organizations testify to the fact that the Communists are still facing severe difficulties in almost all economic sectors.

Although the New Course in Poland is clear—investment shifts, a stalled collectivization drive, wage, price and quota delivery concessions, increased consumer goods production, administrative rearrangements and propaganda campaigns (including elections) to further mass participation in the regime policies, bureaucratic resistance, etc.—its lines are much less sharply drawn than in Czechoslovakia or Hungary. Industrialization and collectivization are the essential points of comparison and are in this regard quite revealing. The Polish Communist regime never went as far to the "left" as did the Hungarian, for example, and therefore has not had to "correct" as far to the "right," but even accounting for some of the advantages of Poland's postwar position (territorial revisions, for example), the Polish Politburo has found it necessary to institute the new policies to meet its difficulties in agriculture and with a resisting population.

* Radio Warsaw, March 15, 1954.

Art under the New Course

Is there a New Course in the arts in the Soviet orbit? In spite of the plea for more Gogols and Shchedrins, both artist and critic have been caught in the ideological shadowland between creation and "deviation."

INDICATIONS of "liberal" stirrings in Soviet art following Stalin's death aroused expectations in some quarters that the New Course in Eastern Europe would entail more creative freedom. However, no sooner had artists and critics begun to voice demands for freer expression, for boldness, courage and individuality in art, than the cramping cultural straitjacket and the slow corrosion of Communist criticism was applied once again. The reason for this was that the "literary debates" and cultural pronouncements made in this brief period of relaxed censorship contained the seeds of serious rebellion: while the Kremlin realized that something would have to be done to resuscitate an art which Malenkov, at the 1952 Party Congress, had described as characterized by "potboilers, hack work and falsity and rot," it could not and would not tolerate a movement which opened the way to political heresy. As far as can be discerned at present, the Soviet policy on art in the New Course represents only a slight modification of the old, orthodox Zhdanov line.

The "liberal" stirrings, evident in late 1953 and early 1954, began as an attack against bureaucratic interference in artistic creation. This trend, apparent six weeks after Stalin's death, was marked by condemnations of stereotyped, dull and inhuman works of art. One of the first voices raised against "institutional guardianship" was that of Olga Berggoltz, who railed against the lack of creative initiative, sincerity and originality in Soviet poetry. Voicing her complaints in the *Literary Gazette*, poetess Berggoltz said that despite popular demands for lyric poetry, she had found not one lyrical poem in a year's back issues



Title: Poets' Debate.

Caption: The Parnassian and the Naturalist.

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), July 22, 1954

of four literary magazines. Further, none of the poems published had mentioned love or other human emotions. Miss Berggoltz bewailed the fact that a literary hero could express no doubt or uncertainty—not even sorrow at parting from his beloved—lest he be accused of pessimism or decadence. Self-examination, she said, also was taboo, unless immediately counteracted by a positive step, such as a jilted lover overfulfilling the haymaking plan. Her criticism was trenchant: "In a great many of our lyrical poems, the most important thing is lacking: humanity, the human being. I don't mean that human beings are not represented at all. Indeed, they are . . . but they are all seen from the outside; and the most important thing of all is missing from our poetry—a lyrical hero with an individual relationship to the countryside."

Miss Berggoltz' criticism was echoed by other Soviet artists and critics, including such important personalities as Shostakovich, Khachaturian and Ilya Ehrenburg. Even the Party press sanctioned the "new" criticism. On June 4, 1953, *Pravda* declared that contemporary plays were dull and superficial and demanded a bold, creative search for the new. On July 24, the same newspaper pilloried all leading bureaucratic organs controlling cultural work. By autumn, the campaign was well under way. At the September Conference of Young Soviet Critics, it was openly stated that writers were hampered by orders from above and could not deal with subjects which really concerned them. In the October issue of *Znamya*, Ilya Ehrenburg, long considered the Kremlin's chief literary mouthpiece, published an article entitled "On the Work of an Author" in which he set himself up as the sponsor of "truth" and

"passion" in literary creation and the avowed enemy of "literature made to order." Criticizing the almost pathological obsession in Soviet literature for dams, canals and factories, and the total absence of personal problems and feelings, Ehrenburg wrote:

"In pre-revolutionary days, a writer's task was not easy; and in Chekhov's letters there is some mention of how the editor of this or that newspaper or magazine would order a story from him. But even the most impertinent editor would draw the line at suggesting to Chekhov the subject of his story. Can one imagine Tolstoy being ordered to write *Anna Karenina* or Gorky being ordered to write *Mother*?

"An author is not a piece of machinery. An author writes a book not because he knows how to write, not because he is a member of the Union of Soviet Writers and may be asked why he has published nothing for so long. An author writes a book because he must tell people something of himself, because he is 'sick' with his book, because he has seen people, things and emotions that he cannot help describing."

The situation in other spheres of art also was scored, and in the November issue of *Soviet Music* Khachaturian took up the cudgels for less bureaucratic intervention: "I think," he said, "that the time has come to revise our established system of institutional guardianship over composers. I will say more: we must reject resolutely the incorrect practice of interfering in the composer's creative processes. . . . Creative problems cannot be solved by bureaucratic methods." And Shostakovich, supporting Khachaturian's observations, maintained: "It seems to me that the Union [of Soviet Composers] should not 'guard' composers from searching for the new, from following independent, untrod paths of art. We should fear, not daring creative originality, but 'safe' superficiality, dullness and stereotyped work."

Pomerantsev

The appearance of these criticisms in official publications indicated that the Party was condoning, and probably even sponsoring, the campaign against bureaucratic tutelage. But any optimism soon was squelched. When the discussion was carried beyond the general aesthetic level—that is, when the problem of what was wrong with Soviet art was tackled at its roots—the Kremlin revealed that its chief concern was to channel the new criticism into safe lines. The limits which the Soviet Union set on the "new freedom" were first apparent in the Party's reaction to an article by V. Pomerantsev which appeared in the December 1953 issue of *Novy Mir*. Echoing Ehrenburg's criticism, Pomerantsev proposed several formulations which the leaders of Soviet literary policy could not let pass. Touching on the questions of conflict, frankness and reality in art, Pomerantsev—a far more vulnerable target than Ehrenburg—went so far as to assert that the "degree of frankness must be the first criterion of a literary work." "Sincerity," he said, "distinguishes the author of a book or play from the compiler of a book or play. To contrive, one needs only brains, cleverness and experience. To create, one needs talent—above all, sincerity." Thus, placing truth

above ideological correctness, Pomerantsev announced that one of the chief forms of insincerity in Soviet art was the "slicking up" of life:

"The crudest method [of applying varnish to reality] is to present an imaginary picture of well-being. You read some books and they make you think of that time, lost in the history of literature, when novels used to be laid under the sun of imaginary lands where the setting consisted of trailing liana vines. Just as those novels gave off the fragrance of wonderful, unheard-of fruits, so do many of our books carry the aromatic odor of meat dumplings. This crude method has produced its most obvious visual-olfactory sensations in motion picture scripts in which people dine at banquets, dine with relish, dine abundantly, dine as entire collective farms en masse. . . . Another device is more subtle. This device is not to serve jellied pig and roast goose, but to remove the black bread from display. This is the approach adopted in one industrial novel. . . . The author did not put earrings and brooches on his characters, but he omitted everything nasty."

Pomerantsev also objected to the weak conflicts in contemporary Soviet novels and the contrived portrayal of good and evil. Reverberations of this criticism were heard in other literary quarters, and eventually gave rise to a series of outspoken regime attacks against "negative writing" and books which failed to depict the "class struggle" and the "victory of the new."

"The novel must throw light on the unlit corners of life, but you [authors] travel about to accumulate a vocabulary, episodes and plots. . . . Hence, your stories are thin, and the conflicts you dig up are no conflicts at all, but the finds of a blind chicken which is glad when a grain falls to it. These are not conflicts, but merely . . . duels, 'matters of honor,' with the subsequent reconciliation of the flabby opponents. That is why I [the reader] always know at sight the function served by such and such a dialogue and such and such a landscape. . . . All your moves are obvious. You set the stage in such a way that there can be only one ending. You settle all problems, although you know that in real life they do not disappear, but remain. . . .

"Of course, we still have much that is bad in life as well as in man himself. The last of these evils is particularly complex, stubborn and enduring. We will considerably improve the material conditions of life in two or three years, but there is no direct line from these conditions into man's soul. . . . To use Chekhov's phrase, these sins, which the Party calls upon us to scourge, must be 'conquered by the efforts of a whole generation'—and perhaps more than one generation—of writers. But neither the defects in everyday life nor human failings can be 'elements' of the play or novel. And they cannot be 'balanced' by other elements—prosperity, love of work, goodness, optimism, etc. The work of art must be organic, and not composed of good and bad."

The above article was bitterly attacked in the January 30 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* by Vasily Vasilevsky who, under the title "From False Positions," declared that Pomerantsev's "correct ideas are not new but naive and generally known, and many of his controversial ideas are theoretically unfounded, unprovable, and simply incorrect." Neither sincerity nor craftsmanship, Vasilevsky said, guar-



Caption: Inspirational Method.

Urzica (Bucharest), July 10, 1954.

antee artistic success if the writer lacks "true understanding" of life and its laws: "But Pomerantsev completely overlooks the question of the writer's world outlook, his Party stand. He claims that the degree of sincerity, that is, the directness of things, must be the first test. No, the first test for the Marxist has been and will continue to be evaluation of the ideological-artistic quality of the work."

Return to Orthodoxy

After the publication of Vasilevsky's article, Pomerantsev was vigorously attacked by other critics, and on April 12, the Party issued a formal warning in *Pravda*. While continuing to rebuke those writers who painted Soviet reality in idyllic hues, the newspaper stated that too many writers and critics recently had gone to the opposite extreme, depicting only the negative aspects of life. A second and more serious blow came on April 28, when four Soviet writers, including top-flight dramatist N. Virta, were dismissed from the Soviet Writers' Union. The expulsion of Virta was significant in view of the controversy which previously had revolved around his "no conflict theory" in drama. In 1951, Virta had proposed that dramatic action be based on a "misunderstanding in views" because there no longer was any vivid clash of forces, ideas or concepts in Soviet life. His theory was assailed by First Secretary of the Writers' Union A. Surkov and, forced to recant in March 1952, Virta got into hotter water by denouncing the system of bureaucratic ruthlessness "by which everything really acute, alive and moving" was deleted from plays. Virta's recent dismissal from the Union was based on the charge of immoral conduct. He was accused of setting himself up as a lord in his native Tambov province and receiving all sorts of favors from the local population. This situation, if true, undoubtedly had been known for some time, and the reason for his downfall probably lay in his condemnation of the oppressive atmosphere prevailing in the Soviet Union.

Following Virta's dismissal, his old enemy Surkov proclaimed the return to orthodoxy. Writing in *Pravda*, May 25, Surkov insisted that art be permeated with the spirit of "partyiness" and declared that the 1946-48 decrees, spelling out the basis of Zhdanovism "had pointed out with exhaustive clarity the strong and weak sides of our literature and art, and indicated the ways of further developing Socialist realism." In other words, Surkov implied that no new theories on Soviet literature would be welcomed by the regime.

The reasons for reimposing the straitjacket on Soviet art were not hard to find since the new theories endangered the Communist-approved concept of life. They threatened, among other things, to dispense with the "class struggle," to defy the notion of a "Soviet paradise on earth," to put an end to "aesthetic didacticism," and finally, they paved the way for attacks against the system itself. The implications of the new theories and evidence of the Kremlin's growing fears were demonstrated most profoundly in the official reaction to two recent works of art—*The Seasons*, a novel by Vera Panova, and *The Guests*, a play by L. Zorin. Both works were well-received when they first appeared, but when the Soviet literary "experts" probed deeper into their meaning, they were tried and condemned. The authors were accused of serious ideological shortcomings and were advised that "Socialist realism" was the only type of art tolerated by the regime.

"The Seasons"

The Seasons deals with some typical Soviet people living in an ordinary city and, in the words of the author, "concerns itself with the complex and everyday relationship so characteristic of present-day reality." This focus on everyday life ties in with earlier Soviet demands about making literature more human. A favorable review of the novel by Marietta Shaginyan made much of the book's naturalness and is worthy of quotation in that it shed light on certain aspects of *The Seasons* which were later condemned. Writing in the March issue of *Izvestia*, the critic said that in sticking close to reality, the author managed to show the "death of all non-participation in Soviet life" without moralizing. Marietta Shaginyan claimed that the novel's realism was manifest in the true-to-life portraits of the main character, Dorofeya, and the villain, Stefan Bortashevich, an eminent Communist secretly engaged in criminal activities:

"The Communist Dorofeya . . . is well-drawn; but even this genuine, progressive Soviet woman has a son, Gennady, who is an idler and good-for-nothing, and she knows that she has brought him up poorly with her boundless love . . . and pampering.

"Stefan Bortashevich, an eminent Communist who is respected by everyone, [also] lives in the city. . . . Everything about him and within him, it would seem, is solid and firm. The reader believes in his outer charm, his position and authority. When the school watchman spreads the rumor that Bortashevich is dishonest, the reader sympathizes with Bortashevich's sick son when he attacks the watchman with his fists. Yet the walls around [Bortashevich] close in

with each new suspect. . . . All the city's dark nightbirds . . . are protected by his authority. Even . . . Dorofeya's son is drawn into this criminal band. And it is remarkable that despite all their apparent immunity behind Bortashevich, their 'high living,' 'easy money,' and their drunken sprees, these people are unhappy and morose, just as Bortashevich himself is unhappy and only outwardly cheerful. It is not only because they expect retribution but also because there is no happiness for someone shut off from the Soviet system. . . . Vera Panova never moralizes in her novel, but in the fates and characters of her people, she reveals the inevitable doom of an anti-Soviet existence."

By May, the Party considered such a response to Vera Panova's book unacceptable. In an article entitled "What Sort of Seasons Are These?" critic V. Kochetov queried, "What is there in all this which is so characteristic of modern Soviet reality?" and took the book to task for distorting Soviet life and failing to show the dangers of an anti-Communist attitude. Writing in *Pravda*, May 27, Kochetov complained that the author had omitted an important era in history: "She has left out the years of the first Five-Year Plan . . . which could not but reflect upon the consciousness of the heroes of a novel of the older generation—on the formation of their world view and their fate." Kochetov also had more serious complaints:

"The best pages of the novel give a vivid picture of Dorofeya's youth. Before us we have a Soviet woman, energetic, full of *joie de vivre*, purposeful, growing. [But] when the author [transferred her from] one epoch to another, Dorofeya immediately became pale and lifeless . . . a mediocre and essentially characterless worker who did not add up to much, not only in the great Soviet cause, but even in her own family. . . .

"To be sure, Bortashevich did not fade . . . did not alter. And this is even more strange than Dorofeya's withering. It is strange because the novel completely fails to reveal to us why for many years he was able to carry on his criminal activities, deceive Soviet society and escape justice."

Kochetov not only deplored the fact that the "good Communist" withered and the "bad Communist" flourished, but also complained that author Panova failed to moralize explicitly:

"All that the writer does is note down individual facts without essentially explaining the reasons for them. Does this not explain why no one in the novel is really condemned? . . . By this I do not mean a court trial of the [characters] or the Party's censuring them, but simply that they should have been condemned both by society . . . and by the author. . . . [Instead] she excuses everybody. Dorofeya is justified by the fact that she loved her son . . . and led a hard life when young. . . . She showered on him all those good things of life she herself never had. . . . Bortashevich [who commits suicide] is justified by the fact that he was plunged into the abyss of abomination by his evil-doer wife. . . . In short, to what is the reader summoned? He is called upon to pity Bortashevich's children, to pity and understand Dorofeya and her son, and to express surprise that excellent children grow up in the families of scoundrels, while in the families of those who shed their blood for Soviet authority, scoundrels of children

grow up—and to believe that this is how things are in this world. . . . From us Soviet writers the reader expects not pictures of 'how things are in life' but an answer to life's questions. To write the truth . . . is not to photograph what lies on the surface . . . but to fathom the phenomena of life, to show the struggle of the new with the old, to further the victory of whatever is advanced, new and progressive. Such is the demand of Socialist realism."

"The Guests"

The Guests by L. Zorin departed even more seriously from the Party's concept of moral blacks and whites. Not only did it emphasize the "negative aspects" of Soviet reality and fail to convey the proper message, but it contained an implicit attack against the regime. The hero of the play is careerist Peter Kirpichev, a soulless bureaucrat who has reached a high position in the Soviet administration. In describing Kirpichev, who is the son of a noble revolutionary, the author suggests that this young "degenerate" is not a product of bourgeois ideology but of the Soviet state machine which is rooted in the idea of power.

When the play first appeared early in 1954, this implication was either unnoticed or ignored. *The Guests* was produced in several theaters and received sympathetic treatment at the 14th Plenum of the Soviet Writers' Union. On May 27, however, the *Literary Gazette* pronounced it a "calumny against Soviet reality," and on June 5, *Soviet Culture* tore it to pieces, claiming that while it was the writer's task to expose decadent bureaucrats, it was an ideological sin of the first magnitude to cast aspersions on the Soviet administration. "However improbable it may seem," *Soviet Culture* wrote, "the idea has been expressed outright in *The Guests* that Peter Kirpichev allegedly rise from the soil of our society in the natural order of things, representing a kind of by-product . . . of our social system and the material well-being which is growing constantly in our country." Similarly, the *Literary Gazette* complained:

"But what are the reasons why such bureaucrats still appear in life? Perhaps the author wants to show the influence of the survival of an alien ideology on our people. No, the playwright answers through the mouth of Varvara, Peter's sister, [who sums up her brother and the regime by saying] 'There is one small word—*power*.' As though the leaders, invested in our most democratic of countries with the confidence of the working people . . . become corrupt just because they are leaders. The idea is politically harmful and profoundly vicious."

Soviet Culture not only objected to Zorin's implication that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, but also expressed indignation at the "unnatural alignment of forces" in the play—the division of characters into top dogs connected with the bureaucracy, and underdogs who experience the effects of it:

"Who does not know that the aim and substance of the entire work of Soviet agencies . . . is constant care for the vital interests of the working people, and that the very word power has become by dint of this something . . . joyous, embodying the finest aspirations . . . of every



Under the Fire of Criticism.
Sign on screen reads: "Literary Criticism."

Caption: The Art Critic: "Don't worry, Maestro, I shan't touch you."

Urzica (Bucharest), June 23, 1954

Soviet person, that our people regard their people's power with firm trust and warm, filial love."

Both reviews also refuted the idea, suggested in the play, that the present generation of Soviets is corrupt and soft compared to the earlier generation of revolutionaries, and has been spoiled by material abundance and unprecedented authority. While Vera Panova was guilty of this sin to a lesser degree by portraying Dorofeya's son Gennady as a scoundrel, Zorin went even further in violating the theory of the "historical development of the Socialist state" by contrasting "Bolshevik toilers" with "Soviet overlords." The notion of regression is conveyed by Peter's father, Alexei, a former comrade of Dzerzhinsky, who says to his son:

"For us, life was hard. We were imprisoned, fought at the front, prepared the revolution and then consolidated it. . . . The blessings all have come to you. I always thought this was a good thing—for us there were storms and gales, but because of that [you] have the sun and roses. . . .

"The country has become strong and the people richer. But alongside the toilers and hardworkers there have appeared imperceptibly and abundantly such people as you—clerical lords, gluttonous and conceited, far from the people. . . . I simply worked beside the great toilers of our land. . . . I worked and didn't think what power tasted like, but you have experienced its taste since childhood and it has poisoned you."

Zorin's heretical theory was condemned bitterly by both Communist reviews. The *Literary Gazette* exclaimed: "The character of old Kirpichev . . . is miserably constructed. [He] reveals himself only on one plane, with only one facet turned towards us, as a direct antithesis to Peter. Thus, there arises a contrast between two generations of Soviet workers and this even further enhances the ideological vices of the play." *Soviet Culture* was even more direct, stating that "the author seeks to create the impression that it is the generous abundance and the mighty flourishing of material blessings—which the older generation . . . succeeded in creating at great cost—which made the ground fertile for the appearance of such filthy types as his offspring." In brief, the Party found nothing commendable in *The Guests*: whereas Czar Nicholas could and did laugh at Gogol's *Inspector General*, *Soviet Culture* pointed out that Zorin revealed a "persistent desire to create the false impression that the ways of Peter Kirpichev are common to executive officials of Soviet institutions. In any case, honest officials devoted to the Party . . . are not shown in the play." The author failed "to display the images of the Soviet people . . . their noble countenances and the titanic power of the patriotic deeds being accomplished by them."

By last spring it was apparent that the Soviet leadership was determined to fight various "incorrect concepts" which

had sprung up in artistic and critical circles. The Party was firmly opposed to any revision of the "positive hero" from an innovator, record enthusiast and man of action into a human being with doubts and weaknesses. It was equally reluctant to permit any probing analysis of the seamy side of life, for fear that such descriptions would convey the impression that the "victory of the Soviet struggle" was not guaranteed, and that present conditions represented no progress over the past. For the same reason, the Party was against any theory of "no conflict" in Soviet life, which implied that uniformity and repression were dominant characteristics of Soviet reality. Despite all the talk about schematism and bureaucratic interference, the Communists made it clear that ideology was more important than frankness and that political didacticism was one of the first requirements in literature. The Soviet leadership continued to demand that art be more "lively" but it refused to permit any changes that would make this possible: the old black-and-white scheme of things demanded by Zhdanov was to be perpetuated. This policy was enunciated in numerous articles published in June* which set the stage for the Congress of Soviet Writers to be held in November. They indicated that a new series of recantations could be expected from cultural workers who were fatuous enough to believe that the artistic strait-jacket was at last being undone.

The Satellites

Repercussions of the literary debates in the Soviet Union were heard throughout Eastern Europe and threw light on the diseases affecting Satellite art. The "liberal" stirrings varied in each country, but all of them indicated an effort to free art from excessive Sovietization and to follow more closely the national tradition. In Poland, a strong independence movement flourished in critical circles, although it received no outspoken regime support. In Hungary, the campaign was sponsored by the government and took the form of efforts to align art with the New Course economic program. The dullness of Communist art and humor received the attention of top Czechoslovak Party leaders, while in Romania and Bulgaria signs of a definite New Course artistic movement were less obvious and consisted chiefly in Party demands for less schematism. Although the emphasis in each country varied, the discussions paralleled those in the Soviet Union, and Communist requirements as well as artists' complaints had a consistency which testified to the USSR's attempts to impose uniformity on all the captive countries.

Bureaucracy in Poland

In Poland, denunciations of bureaucratic interference in art were especially severe and revealed the critics' awareness that timidity and "purism" were stultifying artistic creation. Several months prior to the Polish Writers' Con-

gress in June, strong and surprisingly outspoken attacks were directed against the Ministry of Culture and Art for destroying artistic initiative and independence, and the more daring critics began to run down recent literary production and to point out the inanity of the Zhdanov line. In an article printed in the May 9, 1954 issue of *Zycie Literackie* (Cracow), Henryk Vogler claimed that contemporary Polish literature was virtually mechanical rewriting and that cautiousness and fear were responsible for the nation's inferior literary output. He said that writers in Poland had become diplomats rather than artists and that their talent had expressed itself in attempts to write works adhering to all the rules governing their relations with the "clients most important to them": "Their works," he said, "often have been masterpieces, but only in the sense in which protocols and diplomatic notes can be called masterpieces, properly addressed, containing a clearly-defined thesis, clear, even when hidden in the complexity of style." Vogler then gave a revealing example of the writer-diplomat's attempts to appear politically sound:

"Somebody told me a story of an editorial meeting of a publication which had decided to devote 20 percent of the space in its next issue to Soviet affairs. When all the committee members were seated, one member, in an effort to emphasize his militancy, suggested that 30 percent of the space be reserved for the purpose. His neighbor, feeling rather uneasy, and determined to show his loyalty, . . . proposed that 40 percent be reserved. A fellow sitting behind him who also had decided to appear loyal asked for 50 percent. In this way, it was decided finally that 90 percent would be reserved. . . . All the members went home . . . fully convinced that 20 percent would have been enough."

Vogler said that because of the prevailing cultural policy it was little wonder that Polish literature was inadequate. Comparing the Ministry of Culture to a teacher who prefers dull and diligent students to clever, independent ones, he said:

"Our good teacher had the best intentions and wanted her student, Socialist literature, to be well-mannered; she asked him not to bite his nails . . . not to think about indecent things, and requested that he give prompt and proper answers to questions. . . . And she failed to develop in him one quality: imagination. . . . Thus, the young generation of writers, educated in such a school, is like the immortal clerk in Gogol's *Overcoat*, who found pleasure and delight in the only professional talent he had acquired: mechanical rewriting."

A similar criticism of dramaturgy was made by Jozef Gruda in the August 14 issue of *Sztandar Mlodych*. In an article entitled, "From Improvisation to An Optimistic Finale," Gruda accused the Ministry of Culture of acting like an over-zealous nursemaid to the infant, "Socialist realism." As a result, Gruda said, the infant was starved and grew up pale and timid: "It speaks the language of ministerial circulars; it does not smoke, it does not drink, it does not laugh—and it loves according to the precepts of its nursemaid." Gruda complained that as a result of this purism, oversensitivity and hysteria had ousted real vigilance: "People sniffed: 'subjective idealism,' 'express-

* "For Socialist Realism" (*Pravda*, June 3); "The Strength of our Literature Is Optimism" (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, June 6); "Against Philistinism" (*Izvestia*, June 9); "For the Further Up-surge of Soviet Literature" (*Kommunist*, June 24).

sionism,' 'formalism' and [countless] other 'isms'; written and spoken criticism began to treat works of art exclusively from the viewpoint of *ad hoc* agitational and economic criteria. These words are not an appeal to relax vigilance, but art should be able to breathe freely and swim with the current of the various artistic conventions . . . towards the aims common to us all."

The demand for less bureaucratic intervention led to even more trenchant attacks against the "caste of procurers acting as middlemen between the community and the writer's conscience." Witold Wirpsza, writing in *Zycie Literackie* (Cracow), May 16, declared that it was ridiculous to order the writer to give easy solutions to all of life's problems and to insist that that human happiness was automatically produced by the Communist system:

"[The procurer-bureaucrat says to a writer] 'Remember, a man, if he is a positive hero, cannot be unhappy.' What a lot of nonsense! What stupidity, this alleged optimism. How false it is to order people to believe that the Socialist system is the only guarantee of human happiness, that some time in the future, after so many years, people will be like chronometers, showing constantly a brain-baked 'astronomical time' of 'eternal happiness.' And the worst thing is that writers are supposed to create recipes for such happiness. . . . That would indeed be making people unhappy and destroying art."

Similar criticism was voiced at the April session of the Council for Culture and Art and provoked strong regime reaction. Minister of Culture Sokorski rebuked the widespread attempt to "exploit the opportunity for criticism for a general attack against Socialist realism," and at the June Writers' Congress advocates of non-political art were condemned. In a May pre-Congress article, a *Nowe Drogi* critic complained about formalistic tendencies and signs of a "return to naturalism." He claimed that every effort would be made to fight bureaucratic ordering and drilling of writers and to eliminate mediocrity, but he pointed out at the same time that the Party would not tolerate those "who refuse or are unable to understand the need for ideological contents." Speaking in the same vein, critic Andre Braun, writing in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), June 13, denounced the attitude of "at last, we can breathe freely," which, he said, was prevalent in artistic circles:

"Adam Mauersberger writes . . . that the illusions about the alleged realism of schematic literature have at last disappeared. Jan Kott avers that beginning with 1950 Polish prose ended and productive trash began. . . . Julian Przybos, who suddenly has become active after the Council session, writes that when he returned to Poland after a few years abroad he made a brilliant discovery about our young poetry—namely, that the 'king is naked.' Mieczyslaw Jastrun observes sadly that those 'pimply poets' not only do not lay golden eggs, but have stopped laying eggs altogether. . . . Henryk Vogler cries that at last it will be possible to focus one's attention on the formal aspects of poetry. . . . Does all this mean that after the [Council of Art] session . . . the Party intended to put an end to Socialist realism, contemporary subject matter, the positive hero, etc.?"



Caption: If you're waiting for a recipe (what to write and with what hand), my sincere advice to you is: don't write! break your pen!

Nowa Kultura (Warsaw), July 22, 1954

"The Party has one ideology and one attitude towards the problems of aesthetics. . . . The Party does not change its mind in accordance with the seasons. The Party will not give up its right to exercise influence on the trends and development of art in Poland. The Party never has withdrawn any of its ideological theses on problems in art. It has, however, changed its tactics . . . widened and deepened its ideological theses with regard to Socialist realism . . . but it never has stepped aside from the only possible direction of development. . . .

"But who cries so loudly: at last? Who is it that wants to build . . . his own private moral capital, settle his own personal worn-out accounts? . . . Who is it that has been so hurt by those methods of drilling? . . . Where are those drawers filled with novels and poems on contemporary themes which have not seen the light of day because of the dull bureaucracy of a clerk? Who is it that has suddenly awakened and who now is right?"

In a less eloquent but equally orthodox article, Kazimierz Brandys defended the Party's stand against naturalism in *Zycie Literackie* (Cracow), June 13. Attempting to combat some of the most effective criticism of the Zhdanov line, Brandys said that the Party objects to naturalism as a matter of principle and not because it tends to "blacken life." "I have heard the remark that whenever queues begin to form in front of cooperative stores, we proclaim a fight against naturalism. This is an unfair, though perhaps witty observation. Naturalism has many shapes; there also is a cheerful naturalism. . . . We fight against naturalism . . . because it . . . violates the ideological hierarchy of truth; . . . it is an art of shortsighted people . . . who are unable to see man in the drama of his social fate and political struggle, but who see him as a creature of impulses and instincts only. . . . We fight against naturalism as a distorted heritage of critical realism, from which it has inherited its elements, but whose humanistic contents it has lost."

Czechoslovak Satire

In Czechoslovakia, Minister of Culture Vaclav Kopecky promised some relief from regime interference in art when, at a December 1953 Party Central Committee meeting, he railed against the joylessness of contemporary works. This criticism had repercussions in the field of satire, and subsequent developments in this sphere provided a clue both to regime anxieties and the people's discontent. As quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 13, 1953, Kopecky called for art which was true-to-life, and complained that there were still people, or "dry ones," who believed that "since the advent of socialism people no longer were normal human beings, with normal joys, aims, passions, interests and desires." On the contrary, Kopecky said, the "dry ones" assumed that people had become mechanisms who accepted nothing but theses, formulas and stereotypes in art:

"These dry ones . . . consider as good socialist works only those plays, films, novels and poems which have ideology scooped out by the bucketful and discussions on Socialist problems similar to those which appear in newspaper editorials. . . . These dry ones present cultural and social life under socialism as if its slogans were poverty, self-castigation, asceticism, boredom, greyness, as if to be gay or to amuse oneself were obsolete remnants from the bourgeois past and 'western-mindedness'!"

After Minister Kopecky's speech, satirists were urged to "humanize Socialist humor" and to demonstrate that the Communist builder does not necessarily have a long face and clenched fists. As a result, there began to appear, alongside the old brand of satire which consisted chiefly of cartoons showing "bad capitalists" being kicked, hanged or otherwise mistreated, truly humorous satires which poked fun at the Communist bureaucracy. These jibes at the domestic order proved sufficiently serious and popular to provoke an official rebuke. At the Tenth Party Congress in June 1954, Vaclav Kopecky was forced to sound a retreat. Claiming that satire must strike at the really harmful features of society, Kopecky warned that "in no case must a shade of ridicule or slander affect our glorious native Party which deserves the highest admiration and devotion. This applies also to our government. We must not play around with art or satire; it could, under certain conditions, and applied incorrectly, serve reactionary elements."*

First Party Secretary Antonin Novotny, who initiated this criticism, was equally adamant in his demand that satire ridicule everything "that is old in our life." Novotny said that this demand had not found sufficient echo in literary circles and that the few satires which had been produced were guilty of "vulgarity"—that is, humorists had offended the "standards of good taste" and had underestimated the people's "class consciousness." In other words, both Novotny and Kopecky made it clear that the regime would not tolerate humor based on the attempt to ridicule the Communist superstructure. The reasons for official warnings and denunciations of vulgarity were

* *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 13. Novotny's speech appeared in *Rude Pravo*, June 12.

An Explanation

Marian Zalucki

Defending myself with all my might
I keep explaining day and night:
Gogol? He is past.
Shchedrin? He too.
So what would you have me do?

I thought I had convinced them
But still they keep on saying:
"Create great satire!
Create vast literary work!"

One threatens me,
The other flatters:
"We need geniuses in satire!"

Peanuts to you! I don't want it!
I don't like it when I am forced!

Zycie Literackie (Cracow), May 16, 1954

revealed by *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), July 17, which complained that satires now were being written from the "position of the class enemy and the petty bourgeois—satires which, for example, ridicule on principle such natural features of our lives as the holding of meetings, or the application of Soviet experiences—satires which attack the basic principles of our life." As an example of this satire—and the least harmful type at that—*Literarni Noviny* quoted the following:

"Near Hradec town
There are for some reason
Three managers of the State Farm

One is worn out
The other chased around
And the third already in prison."

Similarly, on August 14, *Cesta Miru*, the regional Party organ in Liberec, objected to "vulgar and cheap" entertainment. "How can the managers of the [variety show] explain the jokes on the initials . . . of various institutions, such as CSM [the youth league] which was ridiculed? It was equally bad taste to joke about the constant moving of our [state] offices, as if one could not trust the authorities. There were poor jokes on the meat shortage. But no one blamed the kulaks who are responsible for this, as well as other saboteurs of our supply system."

Faced with demands for more human satire, and fearful of "misconstruing" regime orders, many satirists have stopped writing, while others, such as Vaclav Lacina, have turned their talents to producing essays on satire instead of humorous works. *Smena* (Bratislava), August 7, attempted to combat this silence by denouncing it as base cowardice:

"There are satirists who . . . have ceased to write satires. 'So as not to get burnt,' they claim. Such an attitude cannot be qualified as anything but cowardice and low political class consciousness. . . . On the other hand, there are

satirists who, it is true, write, but no satire. They produce humorous sketches which hurt nobody because, as they say, they 'do not want to have trouble with anybody.' . . . In our social order, there are only two roads; either serve the working class . . . or willingly or unwillingly serve the bourgeoisie. There is no other way out."

The "New Freedom" in Hungary

In Hungary, where the New Course has been applied most widely, the regime has openly sponsored "greater creative freedom" and posed as the guide of the new cultural movement. When the New Course first was introduced in July 1953, writers and critics took their cue from Party leaders and "confessed" that they had erred in failing to point out government policy mistakes and had been guilty of insincerity, schematism and the slicking-up of life. These "confessions" continued throughout the year, and writers who had been silent voluntarily or involuntarily for years, began to air their views and publish their works. By March 1954, however, the regime began to observe dangerous tendencies in artistic circles. At the July Writers' Congress, and in various articles concerned with art, Communist spokesmen attempted to put an end to "excesses" by defining what the new policy meant. These rebukes—although mild—provoked various criticisms of the Party's effort to suppress literary experimentation. Aware that signs of regime oppression would increase the dangers of a new type of literary schematism, the Party defended its stand against "bourgeois" misinterpretations of the new policy, but at the same time initiated a campaign against unconvincing New Course literature.*

The Party's first serious warnings appeared in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), March 15, which insisted that definite action must be taken against indications of "bourgeois revisionism." The newspaper said that "from the very beginning, justified criticism had been mixed with incorrect exaggerations, almost panic. Frequently, criticism of council bureaucracy . . . bordered on being anti-State remarks. By some, the [new] freedom was incorrectly applied against the Party and state managements. . . . Some writers may have become susceptible to hostile influence because so far they have not been given a correct answer to [the meaning of the new literary policy]." A clear definition of the new policy was provided by *Szabad Nep* in a July 7 editorial welcoming the General Assembly of Hungarian writers. Stating that in the past year Hungarian literature had become more lively, *Szabad Nep* asked—"What does greater creative freedom mean?"—and explained it as a deeper knowledge and better interpretation of life": "It means increasing respect for the writer's character, support for new experiments in artistic means, and the greatest possible reduction of outside influence in literary creative work. It means greater possibilities, more independence, and what is inseparable from the latter: it means greater responsibility for every honest writer."

* Although the regime has hardened its policy, it has still permitted writers previously in disfavor to take their place in the literary world. Endre Illes, Marcell Benedek, Laszlo Nemeth, Lajos Aprily and Jozsef Erdelyi—to mention only a few—are some of the writers who have now reappeared on the scene.

Indulging in typical Communist ambiguity, *Szabad Nep* declared that a further increase in literary freedom would depend on how writers made use of their present opportunities in the "service of the people's cause." The newspaper claimed that certain writers had "misunderstood" their task and had slipped into cosmopolitanism, naturalism and harmful nationalism:

"The Party called on writers to be more daring in describing mistakes. . . . Certain writers interpreted this in such a way that they 'specialized' in describing shortcomings. . . . The Party called on writers to give a more profound description of contemporary conflicts. Certain writers [then] fabricated sham conflicts between the people and the people's State. The Party called writers' attention to enriching the topics they deal with. Certain writers [then] turned their backs on the life of the people, on politics, and started creating art for art's sake. The Party called on writers to pay increased attention to shaping the . . . nationalist spirit in our literature. Certain individuals . . . mistook peasant culture, which is one part of national culture, for all of it, and mixed up national traits with harmful nationalism. The Party called on writers to struggle against cosmopolitan influences. . . . Certain individuals . . . mistook the glorious idea of internationalism [love of the USSR] for cosmopolitanism. Naturalism appeared in our literature. . . . Mistakes apparent in literary life have a common source: ideological weakness."

In a speech to the Congress, Minister of Public Education Darvas succinctly voiced regime objections when he said: "Several writers are convinced that the writer's task is to 'signal' the Party on troubles and mistakes, and to criticize mistakes. [This, however, is not the main point.] The main point is: render the victory of the new, of that which points ahead by sharply outlining the conflicts of reality."

Peasant Literature

"Misinterpretations" of the new policy have been manifested particularly in literature dealing with peasant problems. When Premier Nagy announced in July 1953 that farmers could leave kolkhozes if they chose, many writers began to depict the dissolution of collectives with extreme sympathy and emphasized failures in the government's past policy of forcible collectivization. Other writers, showing tendencies of "narodnikyism," supported the peasant way of life and saw an inherent conflict between the peasantry and the working class. From the very beginning, the Party condemned these attitudes, and in December 1953 Ferenc Karinthy, writing in *Csillag*, issued a characteristic complaint when he said:

"Some of our authors made two-week trips to the rural areas . . . and on their return described their experiences to the Writers' Association. Some of them gave a very desolate description of present conditions [i.e., the exodus from kolkhozes and peasant discontent]. . . . Some of them even went so far as to sound the death toll of the people's democracy. They did not have one encouraging word. They brought no news of achievements, but they had nothing to say of the rural enemy forces either. . . . It seems they saw only one side of the issue—the dark side. They

noticed nothing else. Maybe some of them didn't care to see anything else."

On March 15, *Szabad Nep* complained that past shortcomings in rural policy had hampered the development of some peasant writers and "cast them back into the mire of folksy ideology from where they often watched not only mistakes, but all of Socialist building with aversion and passivity." In this connection, a recent attack was directed against writer Peter Veres for his short novel, *The Bad Wife*. The March 13 issue of *Irodalmi Ujsag* printed an article by Imre Sarkadi, who said: "Peter Veres praises and considers as the only good way of life that of the peasantry—or, more correctly—the general conception originating from this way of life. One cannot agree with this. . . . The way of life and the moral system of the peasantry are basically wrong. Their customs and their laws are most stupid, vicious, anti-humanistic and anti-progressive. . . . Our aim is to abolish them, liquidate them, and rescue the peasantry from this way of life—but not to idealize it."

The following excerpt from Veres' book, published in *Csillag*, January 1954, throws light on the above criticism. In a chapter describing the visit of Communists to a peasant village, Veres writes:

"It is Sunday. The husband is giving fodder to the animals; the housewife is preparing food; the elder daughter is setting the table. The 'village visitors' drop in. . . . The mistress of the house wants to curse them. 'I have so much to do that I don't know where to begin,' she says, and 'now I have to listen to their nursery tales about democracy. But I can't order them to leave because they are Communists. They are the masters now, and might take me to the police, like a Nazi or reactionary, or the devil knows what. One must show them a kind face.'"

The New Schematism

Imre Sarkadi, the critic who attacked Veres, was himself attacked in the September issue of *Csillag*, which attempted to explain the Party's stand with regard to the "new freedom." The author of this article, Istvan Kiraly, claimed that due to misinterpretations of the March 15 *Szabad Nep* editorial a wrong view had taken root in literary circles—the view which said that if mistakes were criticized, obstacles would be put in the way of experimentation and literature would be pushed back into schematism. Kiraly claimed that the July Writers' Conference and Minister Darvas' address should not be considered "obstacles" but enlightened guidance:

"Jozsef Darvas . . . emphasized the danger of petty-bourgeois distortions in literature. . . . Views opposing Darvas have been voiced in the course of the debate which followed the Congress: 'he discourages writers, he raises barriers paralyzing an author's initiative' . . . Few theories have harmed the cause of literature as much as the incorrect overemphasis on the author's intention to experiment."

Kiraly said also that the young Communist writers who had proudly announced that the new program had increased their political consciousness were still not producing works consistently following Party line. "Instead of serving high ideals," he said, "they produce mostly problem-



Title: Riding the Omnibus by Day.

Caption: The notice reads "Karinthy's book *Omnibus* sold out," (implying that this old-time anti-Communist author is so popular that reprints cannot satisfy present demand). Karinthy says: "Drive on. This is the twentieth store with not a single copy of my book available. . . ."

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), September 16, 1954

matic writing." Sarkadi apparently is one of the chief offenders in this respect and Kiraly criticized him for considering the rich representation of daily life as the exclusive criterion of realism. "He failed to realize that the rendering of atmosphere . . . was not yet realism: writing must reflect the laws operating beneath the surface, it must be able to answer the great questions of history."

Another critic, Istvan Hermann, writing in the same issue of *Csillag*, provided additional insight into the atmosphere now prevailing in Hungarian literary circles. Discussing recent strides in dramaturgy, Hermann claimed that in the past year a New Course improvement had been manifested in efforts to depict real problems and conflicts. Hermann pointed out, however, that there still were many shortcomings, and that dramatic literature continued to describe static situations in which the processes of "Socialist growth" were not demonstrated: "If problems are solved at once and not progressively, if the solution is a conclusion and not the beginning of a new struggle, then, as we have seen, true heroes cannot be born. . . . The writers accepted this part of the criticism. But they did not change the [dramatic situations]. . . . With logical consistency, they presented petty, grey and insignificant characters. The ideology behind this tendency is to demonstrate that people are heroes in such colorless, petty situations."

Hermann also said that Party resolutions and the new program were not woven into dramatic plots and appear as external "mythical" forces. Further, many writers claimed that with the introduction of the new program, all problems were solved:

"And this is where the danger of a new kind of schematic playwriting lies. . . . If Party guidance is presented as an outside force, the result only can be such. This kind of presentation diverts attention from the gist of the government program: ever-increasing independence and vigor of workers. It diverts attention from the fact that the government program is an appeal not only to criticize the course of events prior to [its introduction] but to find the correct solution to all problems . . . occurring prior to or after . . . the new program. If the author . . . avoids criticizing present reality, he will be unable to present the time prior to the government program correctly."

Romanian Drama

In Romania, the "liberal" stirrings in artistic circles were revealed indirectly, chiefly through official discussions of contemporary dramaturgy. In a report on a recent conference of Romanian playwrights, for example, the cultural weekly *Contemporanul*, June 4, insisted on the importance of ideological contents in art and the "anchoring of dramatic literature to current problems." The weekly complained that several politically unsound authors had attempted to escape from actuality by focussing on the past or on "minor" aspects of life: "The creation of dramaturgists must be a categorical answer to all those who still defend the 'lack of political spirit' in artistic creation, who profess that the class struggle is not a 'poetical subject' . . . and who believe that the time has arrived to seek refuge in the expression of more intimate feelings."

Contemporanul issued particularly harsh criticism with respect to comedy, claiming that, whereas not long ago comedy abounded in slogans empty of contents, the notion recently had been spread that comedy need not be political as long as it is good fun. "This idea," *Contemporanul* warned, "is foreign to our art, which is permeated by a strong Party spirit." At the same time, however, *Contemporanul* complained about the practice of exhausting certain political themes for comedy because they seemed fashionable: "We should like to specify that when the Family Code was issued there were eight projects for comedies on the same topic. This does not indicate an anchoring in reality, but, on the contrary, the formalist reworking of certain problems and their mechanical transposition into the theater." The above quotation illustrates perhaps better than anything else, the Communist dramatist's dilemma: he must write on prescribed subjects and at the same time preserve originality.

The importance of contemporary themes was again emphasized by Radio Bucharest on July 21 in a broadcast dealing with the problem of encouraging original dramatic works. In Romania, as elsewhere in the region, the Communists recently have launched a drive to have fewer foreign plays on their stage and to develop a flowering national drama. In fulfilling regime requirements it appears that playwrights have turned to the past for their themes and have produced works lacking "social importance." Criticizing the dearth of topical plays, Radio Bucharest made it clear that despite New Course rumors, the bureaucracy had not withdrawn from the field of art and that dramatists were still expected to work on a political schedule: "Every aid must be given to authors now working on plays connected with forthcoming events to enable them to complete them on time. . . . There are some theaters which, fascinated by the decor of a period, always present original plays with themes of the past. Above all, we are entitled to expect from theaters particular care for plays with topical problems."

Attention also was focused on the role of the "positive hero" in dramatic literature. On March 19 *Contemporanul* attempted to define the Party's position by stating that the positive hero should not be like the "raisonneur"

in classical plays—that is, an abstract figure expressing the author's ideas—but a human being "whose general [advanced] ideas and sentiments are expressed by their close relationship to his individual characteristics." How far the positive hero deviates from Party requirements was revealed in a February 26 *Contemporanul* criticism of a play called "The Bartered Honor." According to the weekly, one of the heroes was more in love with machines than his wife. Another complaint consisted of the fact that the dialogue centered exclusively on production problems:

"This impoverishes life itself, while it creates the false impression that in our times the advanced man's preoccupations are reduced to factory problems. Of course, labor problems occupy him to a very important degree, but precisely because he is an advanced man filled with Socialist ideology and morals his spiritual universe also is richer in [coping with] such things as family problems, friendships, adversities. This play lacks precisely the presentation of the multi-sided nature of the working man's spiritual life."

It is doubtful that these exhortations will succeed in making Romanian literature more lively as long as the Party retains the orthodox "do's and don't's" governing artistic creativity. It is apparent, however, that these restrictions have resulted in a travesty of art. This was manifested in two *Contemporanul* articles—one dealing with song writing and the other with poetry. Under the title, "What Are They, Songs or Pre-Fabricated Texts," *Contemporanul*, April 23, complained bitterly that a popular song called *Corcodig*, written in connection with a recent Party resolution, was a deliberate insult to the people. The song is about a farm supervisor, Matei, who is in love with a peasant girl Ileana. One day, passing by her house, he hears her singing: "Corcodig, my dear, little Corcodig, he is pretty, he is so pretty, there is no other lad like him in the whole world." Torn by jealousy, Matei enters Ileana's house, "ready to handle any situation," but he discovers that his rival is not at all dangerous:

"Ileana was playing with a little pig
A small and lovely pig
And he understood that this was Corcodig
And that nobody had stolen his love from him.

His beloved Ileana was not joking
She was trying to breed the little pig
Corcodig for their model farm."

"The song ends with a duet of such tender accents as: 'Corcodig, dear little pig, long live Corcodig.' And this is supposed to be an illustration of a decision taken by our Party . . . for improving the living standard . . . by intensifying animal breeding."

In a May 14 editorial entitled "The Way Poetry Should Not Be," *Contemporanul* revealed that this implicit ridiculing of regime resolutions on economy and art is not limited to isolated cases. Discussing a poem called "A Gardener Speaks," intended to be a eulogy of the potato, *Contemporanul* wrote:

"We do not think that a eulogy on the potato is unwarranted. . . . It might have had profound significance

... had the poem not begun by a series of versified truisms, which the author vainly attempts to transfigure into pure poetry—i.e., with five potatoes Sleeping Beauty lives, with another five Prince Charming gets his fill, etc. . . . It might [have had significance] had the poet not slipped on the dangerous slope of vulgarization . . . and if he had not minimized such a justified slogan. At the end of this—shall we say poem?—the reader wonders . . . whether the poet is not mocking, on top of everything else, both the slogan and the necessity of cultivating potatoes and poetry."

The "New Man" in Bulgaria

In Bulgaria also, the regime has issued complaints about schematism, lack of creative individuality and weak representation of the class struggle. In general, however, there have been fewer signs of literary debate than elsewhere in the area and the present trend seems to point to more intense bureaucratic activity. At the Sixth Party Congress, Premier Chervenkov announced that new efforts would be made to centralize artistic endeavors through the creation of a Ministry of Culture, which has now replaced the less powerful Committee for Science, Art and Culture. In effecting this change, the Party demanded a fight for "realistic art," and recent press editorials have harped on the importance of dealing with contemporary subject matter in view of past failures to "portray the new Socialist man," and "his efforts to solve the most important tasks of our time." These failures were underscored by *Literaturen Front* in May with regard to artists and members of the film industry, and by Radio Sofia, June 23, in a discussion of 1953 literary output. Complaining that literature keeps its head turned towards the past, the commentator declared: "This indicates that our writer still shuns the new life, does not penetrate it and does not know it. . . . The Writers' Union must take steps not to avoid [dealing with] important contemporary themes."

The Softer Line

Although severe restrictions still govern Communist artistic creation, the new cultural line has involved a relaxation in certain spheres. Regimes in some parts of the area have urged publication of national and foreign classics previously banned, and have permitted artists long in disfavor to contribute to East European culture. Further, the recent encouragement of folklore, "original" works, and cultural traditions suggests that the Kremlin is attempting to gain the captive people's confidence by assuring them the right to their own national cultures. This attitude marks a change from the slavish emulation of Soviet art urged hitherto. Greater tolerance towards Western culture also is noticeable, and appears to be part of the Kremlin campaign to ease international tension and establish peaceful coexistence in Europe.

This broadening within was apparent in the Czechoslovak publications list for 1954, which included a book by Jan Herben, a co-worker of Masaryk. Similarly, the centennial of Leos Janacek, a composer hardly mentioned since 1948, was celebrated recently, and the music of Bohuslav Martinu, now in exile in the United States, has reappeared

This Poor Soul . . . *

Tadeusz Rozewicz

This poor soul
what pains he takes
to find a rhyme once again
to "I am happy" as a butterfly
as an infant in his diapers
as a bird stick trumpet sponge
twig cookie fish crab

He is happy when eating an apple
he is happy when seeing a brick
he is happy that grass is green
and, softly-bred, he doesn't like unhappiness

He is happy because the wheel turns around
happy because a chimney smokes
happy happy
he, that perfumed extract

And unhappiness will come
take you by the neck
you will howl
then you will learn
that you are not a twig bird horsy
that you are not a leaf ant doggy
not an apple and not a baby-my
but a fully grown man

a man who
laughs and cries

Nowa Kultura (Warsaw), May 26, 1954

* *This Poor Soul . . .* is an attack on the "Socialist realist" simplification of life.

on Prague concert programs. Frantisek Langer, a friend of Karel Capek, hitherto banned, was invited to give a talk on the writer's brother Josef, and critic Stefan Jez, once considered an intimate friend of the "reactionary poets", now has begun to write for cultural reviews.

In Hungary, also, a new emphasis on national cultural is apparent. Several months after the New Course was announced, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), September 24, 1953, declared: "It is a wrong literary policy, in fact, I could say it was the arbitrary screening of our national culture, to permit a generation to grow up without ever having read anything by Kosztolanyi, Babits, Krudy, Grigyes Karinthy and Ferenc Molnar (of course I don't mean all his works), etc. Their books have not been published for years." On October 18, 1953, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) asked why Hungarian classics were not displayed during Book Week and declared that the number of reprints would have to be increased. To give substance to these New Course declarations, the regime has started publication of a 140-volume series of Classics of World Literature, a School Library series, and an Inexpensive Library series.

Other aspects of the new, "national" focus were evident in Romania and Bulgaria. *Contemporanul* (Bucharest), April 30, 1954, voiced the Party's new attitude towards

folklore in an article entitled "Neglected Treasures": "If instructors, helped by the cultural sections of the people's councils, would undertake a vast research of Moldavian folklore, collecting dances, songs and dance calls, as well as examples of popular crafts from the old people living in areas with rich traditions, . . . it would be possible to enrich greatly the artistic-cultural life in Moldavia." Criticism of the debasement of the Bulgarian language comprised another New Course culture trend. *Literaturen Front* (Sofia), February 11, insisted that a fight be waged against coarse newspaper language and the importation of foreign words: "Every language . . . uses foreign words. . . . However, the substitution of foreign words for those already existing in Bulgarian not only is ignorance but an act against the unity, purity and beauty of our mother tongue. Recently this substitution has been quite evident in our literature. . . . The foreign words imposed chiefly are Russian."

In Poland, several critics have urged relaxation of censorship on Western forms of art. A critic, writing in *Nowa Kultura*, August 22, requested that the Ministry of Culture abandon its policy of silence with regard to Western literature, and permit the translation and discussion of works by Orwell^[1], Waugh, Wilder, Faulkner, and numerous other writers now ignored by the regime. The author of this article, Lech Budrecki, claimed that the present policy of attacking the enemy's weakest positions instead of its strongest—that is, of analyzing the works of Spillane rather than Koestler, who is "far more dangerous"—was unsatisfactory:

"Let us not suffer from a delusion: the books of Koestler, Orwell, Waugh and Camus are read, circulated and even sought after in Poland. They are read not only by the open enemies of our country . . . [but] also by those whom we have failed to convince. . . . Lisowski wrote that these people listen not only to the Polish radio but also to Free Europe and the Voice of America. It is difficult not to agree with him. . . . Those who listen to these barking stations cannot help hearing about the alleged superiority of Western art. . . . Some of them resist these loud songs of

praise, although sometimes they cannot motivate their resistance."

Budrecki stated further that it was a mistake to translate into Polish only those Western authors who "approached Socialist realism," and said that there were many "critical realists" whose works were worthy of examination because they presented the strongest "counter propaganda" against the American way of life. Included in this list of "critical realists" were Fitzgerald, Eudora Welty, Hemingway, John O'Hara and Irwin Shaw. "Very often," Budrecki said, "their understanding is incomplete; they often make false comments on the processes observed, explaining them away by referring to a metaphysics of man's fate. . . . [Nevertheless,] it seems to me that it is our duty to write about [them]. . . . We must bring back to life the true portraits of these novelists, hidden and distorted by bourgeois literary experts; we must ascertain what in their work is great . . . and what is erroneous."

Budrecki's position was harshly attacked in *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), October 10 by Jan Osmolski, who under the pretext of proving that Spillane was more dangerous than Faulkner, implied that the regime was not prepared to tolerate any appreciation of Western art or any extensive broadening within.

There seems little doubt that the Communist cultural leadership would like to make changes in the literature being produced; they are dissatisfied with what they have and yet they will not create the conditions to produce what they want. The New Course in art, like the New Course in general, is a need to get something and a Communist unwillingness to pay the tariff. As they want increased productivity and initiative in industry and agriculture without being willing to give workers and farmers sufficient freedom and material reward, as they want greater political involvement in the government by the masses without giving the people sufficient freedom and power, so also they want a richer and more living literature without being willing to give the artist sufficient freedom to follow his insight and inspiration.

More Soviet Methods

Two Hungarians were surveying the ice-bound streets of Budapest during a cold spell. "It's a disgrace," said the first gloomily. "When are they going to clear the streets of all this ice?" "But didn't you know?" replied the second, "they are employing the new method invented by the Russians!" "What on earth is that?" asked the gloomy one in astonishment. "Why, the sun, of course!"



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WITOLD ARCISZEWSKI

TADEUSZ KONWICKI

Coś nie coś o Trylobitach

Coś nie coś o indywidualistach

The following controversy appeared in the leading cultural paper of Communist Poland, Nowa Kultura (Warsaw), on October 31, 1954, and presents the essentials of two points of view about art and literary creation. Witold Arciszewski's letter is the voice of the lonely artist surrounded by a "Socialist" reality in which such voices as his cannot often be heard. Tadeusz Konwicki's reply is the "yes, but" answer of the Party-minded critic who sees chiefly the social utility of literature. Where Arciszewski calls for individualism, Konwicki calls for collectivism; where Arciszewski cries out for humanism, Konwicki insists on "Socialist realism"; where Arciszewski calls for the expression of doubt, Konwicki calls for the struggle against it. Each,*

probably because of the exigencies of living in a Communist country, makes a gentlemanly bow to the other's point of view, but this does not hide the essential irreconcilability of their approaches. In many ways, these two points of view are symbolic of the silent battle behind the Iron Curtain between individual and State, between captive country and Soviet oppressor, and between the traditions of Western humanism and those of Eastern Communism. What is surprising is that the Communists printed Arciszewski's criticism at all, and this, in spite of Konwicki's simultaneous criticism, is another indication of greater New Course permissiveness without the creation of genuine literary freedom.

Something About Extinct Crustaceans

by Witold Arciszewski

Some of those who participated in the discussion (on the occasion of the Congress of the Polish Writers' Union) wondered why, during the last ten years, so many writers, some of them prominent, had become silent or had "escaped" from contemporary reality. Frequently, people tried to explain this phenomenon by the writers' "insufficient knowledge of the life of present day Poland," or by "lack of deep ties with the masses." It is difficult to imagine a less convincing argument. Never has there been a generation more closely tied to the life of our country and more strongly "engrossed" in reality. And never before have political, economic and social issues played such an important role in education, learning, work and the personal life of the individual. How is it then that the writers of previous generations managed to find those ties with the masses so readily and still write masterpieces even though they themselves did not come directly from the masses, while today writers are unable to create those ties?

The essence of the matter lies elsewhere: the greater a writer and the greater his talent, the more apparent his individuality and the more difficult for him to submit to numerous restrictions, rules and recipes, to "administrative orders," to the duty of choosing from a restricted number of "permitted" themes, conflicts and solutions. . . .

Is not the killing of all works which do not *wholly* comply with the publisher's viewpoint the most efficacious and

ruthless method of controlling creativity? And how many writers, not merely amateurs but those truly dedicated to writing and genuinely talented, have thus been deprived of a chance to write, work, create?

If I remember correctly, all those who participated in the discussion declared themselves against "control over creativity," but at the same time many of them categorically demanded that the principle of Party and State control over cultural policy be maintained, and loudly proclaimed "The Party's right and duty to put before writers such and other political slogans, an emphasis on such and other aspects of various problems."

In no state on earth, I assume, does art walk around all by itself. In every field of the community's internal life there are certain boundaries which cannot be crossed. These borders, of course, do vary. Thus, it is quite natural—and one can hardly see anything wrong in it—that in a community engaged in building socialism the criteria of Marxist ideology have been employed in establishing those borders for creativity. The difficulty lies in this: that the difference between "controlling" and "directing" is not always clear. . . . As far as cultural policy is concerned, the border between those two functions has been freely moved up and down on the basis of one or another man's whim. At the same time the difference between what is "useful" (and as a rule the "useful" is synonymous with "permeated with Party ideology") and that which is "harmful and inimical" has slowly been narrowed down to a fine edge, in spite of the fact that they are divided not merely by a

* For reasons of space, and because of the repetitiveness of the articles, we have reduced the articles to about half their original length but retained the original language verbatim.

margin—as is maintained by Putrament*—but by a wide field into which could be fitted *In Switzerland*, *Threnodies*, *Romeo and Juliet*, the Winged Victory of Samothrace, Rembrandt's self-portrait, the lyrics of a contemporary poet without any mention of fulfilled norms, and the Moonlight Sonata and *The Children of Captain Grant*,** as well as a story for young people about an expedition to the South Pole without any analysis of social relations among the penguins.

The slogan "art for art's sake" is for our critics and writers what the red cape is to the bull. I do not intend to defend this slogan. Frankly, I cannot even understand what kind of satisfaction a writer can derive from the knowledge that his works are understood only by himself and a small handful of oversophisticated snobs. Art must be understood by the people. We, however, have managed to entangle ourselves in the opposite extreme: vulgarized utilitarianism of art. Following the slogan that "art must serve the nation" (a slogan so often used and abused) we demand that art have a definite ideological content, didactic qualities; we demand that it be an instrument of politics. "We are not indifferent as to whom and what one's talent serves."

Principally there is nothing wrong in the state's demands that art be one of the instruments of its policy. We can safely say that to influence our citizens by means of books, radio, films or theater plays is a much nobler task, higher and worthier of a civilized man than to resort to police and judicial methods. But it is very important to remember that the role of art cannot limit itself merely to shaping the citizen's mind. Art has much wider tasks. . . .

The most essential and indispensable element in art is a notion which is so difficult to describe: beauty. Beauty exists in nature and in human perception as something completely devoid of any ideological, social content, and which has only and exclusively an aesthetic content. The important thing in art is to transplant a little of that beauty into the work of man. Without it—artistic creativity does not exist. . . .

One of my fearful friends advised me (just to be safe, he said) not to sign my name and address to the letter. My letter, he said, is written in a very direct manner and I could easily get into trouble and be called an "epigone," "a panic maker," or even "an enemy." It is quite possible that because of this letter I shall earn all those names for myself. But I am not in the habit of shooting from behind a fence, not even at trilobites.*** Jastrun's sentence that one cannot be a writer without courage may be paraphrased to read: one cannot be a reader without courage. I would not like, however, for the *Nowa Kultura* editorial staff to form their opinion of me on partial evidence and so I want to say a few words about myself.

* Jerzy Putrament is a Deputy member of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Secretary-General of the Writer's Union and considered the "politruk" of literature.

** *In Switzerland* is a long 19th-century poem by Juliusz Slowacki; *Threnodies* is a long 16th-century poem by Jan Kochanowski; *The Children of Captain Grant* is a novel by Jules Verne.

*** Trilobites are a group of extinct arthropods classed with either the crustaceans or the arachnidans. Their remains are found in fossils of the Paleozoic era and are among the earliest known fossils.

Before the war I worked as a soil expert employed by the State. I was often given to understand that it would be better for me if I joined the BBWR [Pilsudski's bloc]. I refused, saying that in spite of appearances I was not a party man, that I belonged to a party but not a legalized party at that. A rather unusual party. My party was composed of a single member who performed both the functions of a chairman and a secretary. My party was organized at the very moment I began to think independently and it will be dissolved when I stop thinking. My party has many virtues. It is never threatened by deviations, its unanimity is assured, nobody is in danger of being thrown out. Its members do not have to go through books to learn by heart long paragraphs and verses which will instruct them as to how they should think, behave, educate their children, live in harmony with the required line, how to read and what, what to say, what films to see, what books to appreciate, what scientific theories to accept or reject, etc.

After the war I decided to stick to my party although I know well that I will never become a deputy to the Sejm,* or a member of a national council, or, which is perfectly obvious, a minister. Thus I rarely attend celebrations and festivals, avoid jubilees, demonstrations and public rallies, do not carry placards, do not shout slogans, do not engage in agitation. I rarely ask for a chance to speak except on professional matters. I did not do any of these things before the war. During the twenty years of our independence, I never marched in demonstrations, except once when I served in the Army. Only two or three times did I attend May 3 celebrations, among them once when as a young student I wanted very much to see Marshall Foch.

I am not eager to undertake pledges, obligations, or any of these things connected with big blowing of trumpets and advertising. . . . I am too old to be born anew. My opinions, my methods of work, my views today are fully crystallized. And that is how it usually is. . . . Such men as I am are usually considered a social, epigones of a dying world, and in a world of victorious socialism not even a trace of them will be left.

But that is not true. The admirers of lonely mountain paths will never die off. They were—and they will be. It was they who followed the spoor of deer together with a horde of Neanderthal men, stopped suddenly to look in contemplation at the silver shield of the moon, asking themselves where the wind comes from, why the sun rises and sets, asking themselves what is good and what is evil. It was they who, when their brothers lay down to sleep, went out into St. John's night to look for a fern flower in the forest. It was they who cried *E pur si muove*** in spite of established dogmas . . . it was they who put on wings so they could fly up to the sun—and died and appeared after many centuries as Wrights, as Levonievkis. They, those undisciplined, independent, violent spirits who escape the well-trodden roads to wander about on the wild paths in the teeming wet forests. They were—and they will remain.

* The Sejm is the Polish national parliament.

** The line attributed to Galileo when forced to recant before the Inquisition. He is supposed to have said, "And still it moves," meaning the earth moves around the sun.

Something About Individualists

by Tadeusz Konwicki

I have read your letter with great interest and attention. I liked its sincere tone and its subjective honesty. . . . Contrary to your pessimistic anticipations, I will not call you an enemy or an obscurantist. If anybody asked me about it, I would say that I consider you one of us citizens of People's Poland, citizens who wage a constant struggle against their doubts. . . .

But two things mentioned in your letter made me angry. The first, your proud reference to a one-man party. You are proud of your individualism. In a grandiose finale to your letter you present a vision of a legion of individualists who have made mankind's progress possible. Individualism is very colorful . . . a very photogenic world view. There is little wonder that young people suffer from it during adolescence. I also was affected by it at one time. But the people who have suffered in one form or another, who have been kicked by social injustice, do not wish to be satisfied with this romantic hermitage of individualism. In humanistic self-defense they take one another's hands and make a strong round chain within which those may honorably live who see in themselves the highest virtues.

Those of our fellowmen who put on wings so that they might fly to the sun perished not behind their communities but for them. If they "escaped from the well-trodden roads to wander about on the wild paths," it was because they could not find a place for themselves on those "well-trodden roads". . . . We, the earthly collectivists, give the very first place to these Icaruses on our way forward. We consider ourselves the heirs to all those of our fellowmen who, in every part of the earth and in every time, have searched for paths of progress for mankind. We earthly collectivists have the ambition to create, on the basis of our scientific worldview, a country of Icaruses, and lift them higher and higher on our own shoulders. . . .

I think that you have simply confused individualism with individuality. We feel contempt for individualism and value individuality. We want as much individuality as we can get. . . . It is true that here and there we see in our country the levelling done with the help of a ruler. But we must remember that we live in revolutionary times and that we shall not leap into Communism at once.

Now, the second matter: the problem of the Party-mindedness of literature. Here I, as a Party member, was not only annoyed but insulted. With what contempt you write about those who shout slogans, crowd at meetings, carry posters. I would like to remind you that the people now carrying posters at demonstrations are the same people who years ago put on wings, paying dearly for it with long years of imprisonment, people who spent their most precious years of youth in prison cells and concentration camps.

You say in your letter that Socialist realism can be substituted for by the term humanistic realism. I think the reverse is true. We want to restore to all humanistic values their dignity and make them accessible to every man. If we enrich this uncompromising combative activity, we will have Socialist realism. In my opinion, the term Socialist

realism is broader and more precise than the passive, or even anemic, humanistic realism.

You write scornfully about our literature's tendency to treat life from only one point of view. You seem disgusted by its primitive features, chiefly by its Party-mindedness. You defend a writer's right to have small emotions addressed to nobody, to feel an apolitical beauty. But at the same time you are aware of the fact that this alone will not suffice. And finally you come out with your "creative passion." But what is this "creative passion" you are writing about? Is it indeed a thin satisfaction from shaping clay, painting fences with colored substances, or scribbling on paper with a pen? Or is it perhaps an artist's tendency to see things as he can see them, his passionate interest in and a wish to associate himself with contemporary problems? Or is it perhaps his passionate desire to help his brothers in their efforts? Is it not perhaps for these reasons that citizen Icarus put on wings and citizen Tolstoy dedicated half his life to contemplating human fate and writing his books? And we, considering ourselves heirs to all those artists who saw life as they thought it should be seen and delivered their message, all those burned and stoned, condemned and banished by darkness, call the struggle for full humanism Party-mindedness in art.

You warn us, Citizen Arciszewski, that talent is like "a capricious bird which sits down wherever he himself chooses without bothering about ideologies and points of view." You warn us that perhaps this miraculous bird will not descend on us. I do not know. The future will show which one of our contemporaries will be marked by this bird. . . . We cannot grant talent to anyone. We can, however, ask the talented and less talented writers to help us in our struggle, which will give bread to all. . . .

Criticizing this Party-mindedness in art you have discovered contradictions in our premises. We say that our literature should be Party-minded and sincere. And what then should non-Marxist writers do, you ask? For, you say, if one accepts this demand, the non-Marxist writers will create an insincere literature, a bad and useless literature. Your observation would be perfectly correct if Marxism were a religion. However, as has been proved by a century-long experience, Marxism is a science, a worldview based on scientific premises. Marxism is thus an attitude of reasoning which derives its strength from a great and constantly running river of knowledge.

Marxism develops in harmony with the development of mankind. A contemporary writer cannot ignore science; he must accept and recognize the needs of knowledge. He is also influenced by reality which is the creative element for Marxist knowledge. If a writer is not an ignorant and dull enemy of People's Poland, his humanistic experiences will finally coincide with the generalizations of Marxism. If he is genuinely interested in the problems of his contemporaries, if he is connected with his nation by strong ties of sentiment and feeling, if he considers himself responsible for the welfare of his country, he will write a book which we, the simple people, will call a Party-minded book whether or not he holds a Party identity card, and even if he believes in the stork.

Literature and Life

The two articles below appeared in the Romanian Writers' Union magazine, Viata Romineasca, of March and June 1954 respectively. They exemplify the recent areawide controversy on the individualist and conformist approaches to writing, literature and criticism. They are rendered here verbatim, retaining as much of the flavor of the original as is possible in translation, and all editorial and author's notes are theirs.

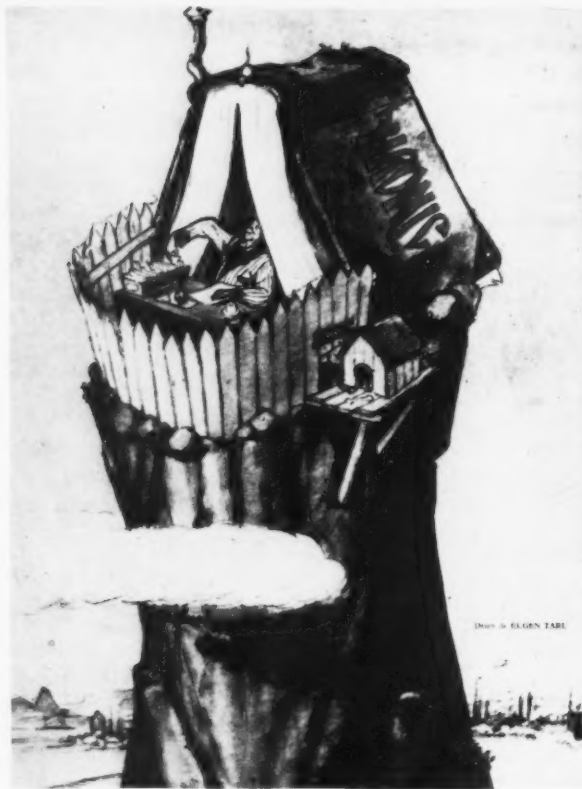
A Short Primer for Makers of Literature*

(A Critical-Aesthetic-Methodological Essay)

by Remus Luca and Alexandru Oprea

Foreword. For more than four centuries, the writers' lot has been the least appealing one. They must try to recreate, to rediscover the laws of representing the eternal beauty of poetic art on unbeaten, uncomfortable and thorny paths, and to discover subjects never before published. (*Editor's Note:* There follows a long parenthesis from which it may be concluded that the discovery of "new subjects" constitutes a "damnation of damnations" for creative artists.) We wish to put an end to this eternal Tantalus' torture. Authors, rejoice! The key to the lock has been found, the secret formula, the "Open Sesame." From this day on, the

* This manuscript was found in an old library. Because its owner was careless, it is incomplete and in great part deteriorated. We deem it useful and necessary that those parts which have been salvaged be made available to those for whom they were written because their contents are of burning contemporaneity. As many expressions were found to be antiquated, we have taken the liberty of changing them into their modern equivalents. According to us, this does not alter the substance. In other places, we have taken the liberty of replacing the given names and examples of things long buried under the dust of ages with examples taken from contemporary works which we will not name since they are so well known.



Title: Isolationism.

Caption: Certain writers, deliberately professing lack of interest in reality, look for their heroes exclusively in the ancient past. *Urzica* (Bucharest), September 30, 1954

torment of writing poetry will be a real joy; it will no longer entail suffering.

(Several pages of the manuscript are missing. Page 3 begins with the end of a sentence. From what follows we understand that the passage deals with advice given the poets.) . . . ing a beautiful sunset in the mountains: red sky, clouds like bison, black forest, and make sure you do not forget the sounds of shepherds' horns. Also, describe the magnificent panorama offered by a field with reapers and wenches carrying water urns. The men shout with joy and pinch the wenches. The wenches laugh. Trochaic rhythm, lots of feminine rhymes, especially ending in vowels like *e* and *i*. The refrain, "Oh, how nice it is to work in the collective," is very effective. The antithesis method. This is a quite difficult method as it implies matching elements which are mutually exclusive: black and white, good and bad, past and future, death and life. Here is a simple application: three lines about the darkness of the past when teachers used to whip the children, who cried and screamed, while making references of a discourteous nature to their pupils' mothers. Then, a brief but all-inclusive line about today: teachers no longer whip but caress their pupils, and they no longer call their mothers names. Moral: yesterday, tears; today, joy. Another appli-

cation of the antithetical method which no doubt will be greatly appreciated is this: yesterday, the mother-in-law was a pest to her daughter-in-law, or even to her son-in-law. Today the mother-in-law is an enlightened woman, she is sweet . . . (unhappily, several more pages are missing which we are sure would have been a great help to poets.)

XLII.

. . . onflict: general manager, a positive character; deputy general manager, a traitor. Great struggle. In order to increase the suspense, the traitor or class enemy slanders the positive hero. For a while it looks as if evil will defeat good. But . . . there comes an inspector who unmasks the traitor. He is arrested. Great rejoicing. Curtain!

Details concerning direction, costumes and scenery: 1. The negative character must always keep one of his hands in his pocket in a threatening gesture, suggesting a gun. This is in preparation, and later it will motivate, a shooting directed at the positive hero's heart—absolutely necessary for the development of the plot. 2. The positive hero will call up his home in the middle of a production meeting. This will move the audience. The audience will say, "See, this poor general manager; he has family problems too." This will render the positive hero more human. 3. From time to time, in order to locate the action in space (factory, collective farm, construction yards), there will enter a woman production leader or a man, a foundryman or a woman worker, a man or a woman cement mixer. In order not to complicate the plot, these secondary characters will appear on stage either to solve the most urgent and intricate problems, or to utter obscure and chance lines. 4. Positive characters, men or women, engineers or workers, wear overalls, greasy caps and heavy boots. Negative characters will be carefully dressed and as elegant in appearance as the local theatrical wardrobe permits.

For Novelists and Short Story Writers

(*Author's note:* in general, after having reflected on the matter, the subjects given above to poets of drama and tragedy may be applied also to the uses of prose writers. All the same we note down in the following lines a number of subjects which, when applied, are more effective in prose owing to their directness of communication.)

The secretary of a basic organization enters into conflict with the manager who, influenced by the class enemy through women and revelling, is in a state of disintegration. The Party secretary of the basic organization (who by all means must have been sent from some place high up) is immediately supported by all the workers in the factory as they suddenly realize what is going on. In order not to complicate the plot, we shall abstain from motivating the reasons for their support. It is well understood that a conflict which breaks out among people working together for a long time, or living together in the same place, presents no conflict of interest whatsoever. (*Author's note:* When necessary, the same conflict can easily be transferred to a village, preferably in a collective or a cooperative. Here, the conflict is between the secretary of the basic organization and the president of the people's council.) So that we

do not forget the alliance, and that we may shut the editors' and reviewers' mouths, the conflict must without fail arise after the visit of the provincial inspector who unmasks the president.

There is another interesting subject, about love. He is a production leader, handsome, good, honest, moderate in his habits, and very often he receives State prizes for his productivity. She is pretty, graceful, ambitious, but a laggard at work. He sees her, she notices him, they fall in love, she precipitates a discussion (or perhaps he does) and they decide to get married at once. They go to the State Store for House Furnishings, and admire the window displays. They talk a good deal about production. The third day, another "he" who is in love with her, informs the first "he" that she is a laggard at work and that because of that her labor brigade has just lost its good standing in the current Socialist competition at their factory. Immediately, he writes her a one-word letter: Adieu! Consumed by her great love, she undergoes a rapid and profound change, becomes a production leader, even a Stakhanovite (the more rapid the process the better so that the first "he" will not have to suffer too long). Afterwards, she leaves for an engineering school and from there she writes him a letter. Filled with happiness, he waits for her. They meet after her graduation, they kiss, and she tells him: "Let me show you my innovation." He will find a way to perfect it. They are happy, happy. Three times happy. As for the second "he"—the infamous Iago—don't let's talk about him to keep from spoiling the reader's good humor. (*Editor's note:* another couple of pages are missing.)

On Creating Characters

The positive heroes must resemble each other: the human ideal is one and indivisible. Penetrating eyes burning with lightning (or according to each author's taste, sparkles, flames, glowing lights, fires, etc.). He is husky, robust, with a Herculean chest and muscles, he radiates strength and optimism. He doesn't drink and he may even give up smoking. He is impervious to the charms of the beautiful sex, chaste to the day of his marriage (similarly, he will marry a chaste woman and all their children will also be chaste). . . . He will not wear a necktie or a crease in his trousers. In order to render him more human, he will swear from time to time. Great care must be taken in the choice of these utterances. They must not be mystical; in other words, they must not refer to Biblical characters. (*Editor's note:* This portrait can be easily reproduced and applied to all professions, sexes, ages, without distinction as to nationality or religion. One can eventually modify the color of the hair, the height—but not too much—the sound of the voice, the size of the shoes, and that will be all). The negative characters will look like a fox. They are fat and bloated, with black circles under their eyes, always frowning. They must be identifiable at first sight. Here, the women who play a special role in the novel will preferably have the looks of fallen angels, with long eyelashes, enticing movements, full of subtlety. Because of the decadent charm that emanates from them, these *femmes fatales* will be real traps for honest men with weak char-

acters. We must see to it that these women live up to their parts. The neutrals: in the cities, they are honest intellectuals, misinformed. In the villages, they are peasants better off than the majority. The neutral character is undecided, his gaze is hesitant, his gestures are hesitant, his conversation is hesitant, his walk is hesitant. He dresses . . . (*Editor's note*: unhappily, the other pages are missing.)

On Poetic Art

Subdivision: on the improvement of style. In order for an "opus" to be successful, it must be well written. To write well means to avoid writing badly. There are beautiful words and metaphors and there are ugly ones. Literature is the art of beautiful words, of the representation of the beautiful. Descriptions will be beautiful. Landscapes will not be absent from the work. (The absence of descriptions of nature—which are the most effective—impoverish the beauty of a literary work.) Here are a few applications of this principle: a factory, the office of the manager, a large window, wide open. A Stakhanovite looks as far as his eyes can see and he feels overwhelmed by the sight of the sky, the clouds, the mountains, the trees, the leaves, the flowers, the grass, the mighty waves of the sea. By no means will the description occupy more than ten pages (if the work itself is fifty pages). Preferably the description should begin even before the appearance of the Stakhanovite and the open window. Each chapter should begin with a similar description, somewhat briefer. If we are in the workshop, we can begin thus: "It was rainy and windy outside. Through the large, half-open door there came from time to time gusts of wind and hail. . . ." It would be superfluous and it would interrupt the continuity of the description while failing to connect it with the complex labor problems of that particular workshop. . . . (*Editor's note*: several pages are missing.)

LVIII.

. . . of love, dear to the reader, the author will distribute it every three pages. Another* important element is the language spoken by the characters. In order to demonstrate that in the past only the exploiters of other people have had the opportunity of education, the class enemies alone will use the purest literary language and expressions, full of distinction, using technical words and neologisms. The positive heroes will speak a plain language; that is, a rudimentary language, often without respect for grammar. They will often say: ". . . there is also shortcomings, but generally speaking, things ain't going bad." All positive peasants will distort the neologisms, as well as the big words they use. . . . (*Editor's note*: there are several pages missing, followed by a few pages which we have deciphered with great difficulty.)

. . . the positive hero must have a great capacity for thought. His gaze penetrates thick walls and finds its way to the bottom of other people's hearts. He knows everything and is strong enough to annihilate all his enemies from the first moment, but that is not artistic. He conceals up his sleeve a miraculous solution to every problem until the time is ripe. He pursues all schemers like a shadow

while observing their machinations with a steady determination and with a lynx's eyes. . . .

. . . in the last scene, the class enemy will collapse according to the laws of history. Suddenly he will lose all his diabolical qualities and become a pitiful rag. You must be astonished that he ever had such importance in the first place. . . .

. . . as names are very important, they will be picked out like this. For the positive heroes, John Willful, Peter Flint, Basil Hardy. These names will immediately capture the reader's sympathy. The neutral characters will be called Mr. Difficult, Mr. Sleepy, Mr. Hesitant (in the final scene, they may eventually change their names by submitting a request to the people's council and this in order to suggest their transformation). The kulaks will be called George Executioner, Nicholas Glutton (to suggest greed), or other names with pejorative meanings. . . .

. . . because it is well known that the final scene must open a large and bright perspective. Therefore, the final scene will end with a sunset on a collective farm, with the moment the lights are turned on in the workshops of the hydroelectric plant, with the marriage of the positive heroes to the positive heroines, with the recovery of those gravely wounded by the class enemy. One of the heroes will say: ". . . tomorrow, we will see here. . . ."

. . . you must write in such a manner so as to avoid giving a precise opinion and thus, even the most clever reader will not guess . . . bad or good, right or wrong . . . his opinion is a secret . . . (*Editor's note*: these last lines were found on the last page, faded and torn. They seem to have been written for the benefit of the literary critic.)

Signed: Deacon Ieremia Osteanel

A Short Primer on Estrangement from Life*

Our literature has won the affection of its readers and acquired social significance according to the measure in which it has succeeded in artistically representing the rich reality of life, the burning problems of our times. It is a well known fact that Socialist realism does not only imply vigorous opposition to the formalist, dull and false representation of reality, the opposition to all set patterns or literary recipes, but also it reveals to writers the only means by which they can liquidate schematism and the use of the set pattern in writing, as well as a way to achieve the immensely varied knowledge of life and literary mastery.

Nevertheless, this simple and clear matter is sometimes perverted. The *Viata Romineasca*, of March, contains a so-called "Short Primer for Makers of Literature," written in a manner meant to be satirical and jesting, in which the authors have attempted to demonstrate that their goal is to fight literary patterns. A satire of pattern setting would indeed have been a good and necessary endeavor, destined to strike at the foundations of the tendency to pattern setting which hinders the development of literature. Does the

* Reprinted from the leading Party paper, *Scinteia*, Bucharest, May 14, 1954, published there as an unsigned editorial.



Title: Some artists are inclined to believe that the dimensions of a work of art constitute the decisive criterion for success.

Caption: "Now I can say that I have started work on a real masterpiece. . . ."

Urzica (Bucharest), July 10, 1954

above mentioned "Primer" fulfill these conditions? Does it stimulate those writers who have not yet succeeded in getting rid of "patterns" to represent the problems of our times more artistically, competently and profoundly? Does

it move them to raise their creation to the heights of life today? Can it combat the set patterns to be found in some of the younger writers' work—writers without proper experience or orientation—who have culled these patterns from antiquated and decadent writing long since thrown into the wastebasket of literature by readers? Not at all! On the contrary, the "Primer"—which pretends to ridicule one set pattern or another—hints that if a writer "dares" to describe not an ordinary sunrise but one seen, let us say, on a collective farm, then regardless of how brightly the sun shines in his work the author is "lost," he is trapped in a "set pattern," he has trespassed into the realm mocked and condemned by the "Short Primer." This is also true, according to its canons, if lovers are production leaders, or students in an engineering school, if the heroes are dressed in overalls, if the lights are turned on at the power plant, if the writer does not forget to mention the problems concerning the worker-peasant alliance.

However, anyone who wishes to write about life today will have to realize that one can truly see the sun rise from a collective farm too, that workers will continue to wear overalls, that production leaders will continue to fall in love with one another and that the worker-peasant alliance is the main theme of our times. This must not lead us to believe that as soon as a writer has touched a subject rooted in our times and concerning our contemporaries, he is in danger of getting himself into a set pattern and that the interdiction provisions of the "Short Primer" are necessarily lying in wait for him.

Such an "opposition" to the pattern actually tries to intimidate the best and most numerous among our writers, who write with daring and success about the complex problems of our times; it tries to frighten them by asserting that no matter what they write about life today, they will be accused of following pre-arranged patterns.

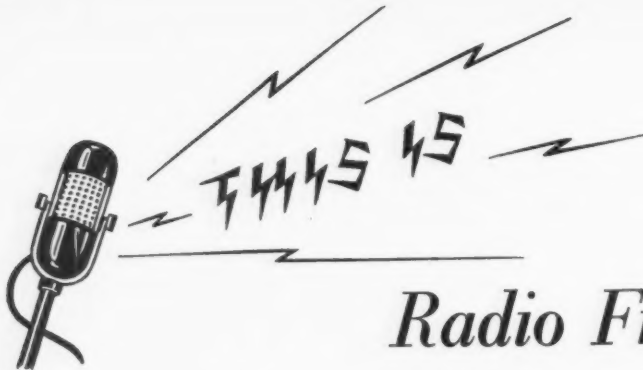
It is a shame that such a talented and serious writer as Remus Luca (co-author of the "Short Primer"), has put his signature to this type of production. If anyone applies the criteria of the "Short Primer" to his beautiful short story, *Ana Nucului*, then the work may be condemned for following a "set pattern" and its author for being a "maker of literature."

How is it possible that a publication of the importance of the *Viata Romineasca* can show evidence of such lack of responsibility? Instead of publishing "Primers" of this sort, *Viata Romineasca* ought better to fight against the real literary patterns, to guide writers more actively toward knowledge of life, and to promote with determination within its pages, the writing dedicated to the creative work of the builders of Socialism.

Compliments of the Day

An absent-minded passenger stepped on a woman's toe in a Warsaw streetcar.

Angrily she exclaimed: "You clumsy peasant, you!" "My dear lady," the man answered. "I should be infinitely grateful if you would let me have that in writing. I am on my way to the university to try to get my son admitted as an undergraduate."



Tonight, in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, men, women and children will gather around radios tuned to the voices of their countrymen in the West, bringing them the news of the free world, the knowledge that they are not forgotten, and the hope of their future liberation. Radio Free Europe, operating as a home service from abroad, broadcasts over a network of 29 transmitters to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, competing directly with all Satellite Communist stations.

This is the Voice of Free Czechoslovakia . . .

The Wily Monk

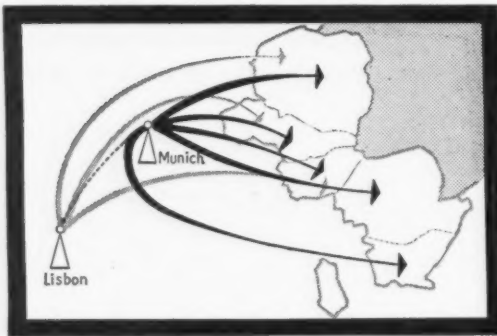
Radio Moscow said, "Surely, you remember the case of the monk who re-christened the hog a carp in order to make a Lenten meal of it." Radio Moscow went on to say that Radio Free Europe now engages in a similar practice by speaking of the new German democratic army when what actually is taking place is the reinstatement of the old Nazi army.

I would have expected many things of Radio Moscow but I would not have dreamed of its bringing up that story of the monk, as I would never expect a manufacturer to divulge his production secret. For in truth, the hog is presented as the carp all the time, persistently and tenaciously. The High Monk sits in Moscow. In 1945, when the Russian army invaded our territory, when women were raped, when the Russian secret police singled out people and carted them off to Siberia, when so many were imprisoned without a trial and many were killed, we thought: here's a hog. But the Russians hastened along, and our Communists too, and they said, "No, indeed, it's a carp, it's democracy." When, in February 1948, Czechoslovakia lost her independence to become a Russian protectorate, again the Russians and our Communists said, "This is the carp, this, at long last, is true freedom." The past ten years of world history have been crammed to the bursting point with Russian bids to pass off dictatorship as democracy, the loss of freedom as the conquest of freedom, arming as a peace movement. It therefore astounds me to find Radio Moscow recalling so lightheartedly the tale of the monk. However, some philosophers still endeavour, if vainly, to find a spe-

cific name for this new, this modern era. Maybe it could be called the era of arrogance. Never before have people dared to put the blame for their own vices so brazenly on others' heads.

It is in Russia's paramount and obvious interest that Germany remain unarmed, so that no equilibrium of forces be reached, so that Russia will be the sole mighty power on the European continent—so that she may go on seizing, and the countries already seized may not be liberated. This,

surely—is a hog. However, Russia uses various devices to re-christen it a carp. Russia kept seizing one country after the other, yet persistently demanded and still demands that this imperialist banquet be labelled a Lenten meal. We, Czechoslovakia, were one such Lenten dish. But Russia does not stop at re-christening the hog a carp. It also re-christens the carp a hog. Nine years ago Nazism was defeated, scattered, smashed and ousted from German



public life. Only here and there an aging Nazi nods his head and twiddles his thumbs on his belly. Nazism has no army, no police, no papers, in short, no power. Nonetheless, the Soviets walk the battlements of Europe and admonish the people to be vigilant! But what did they do at the time when Nazism was in the ascendance, when Hitler, Goering and Goebbels were alive and held in their hands the army, the police, the SS-men, the press and all state power? Did the Soviets then walk the battlements, shouting their warnings; people, be vigilant! By no means, they did the very opposite—they concluded an agreement with Nazism. . . . What did the Russians re-name this portly hog? They called it an alliance of young nations, they called it the camp of peace. So you see, the camp of peace you are now invited to join is an old organization and as

its first member—long before your joining—Hitler was adopted by the Russians, just a week prior to his unleashing World War II. . . .

Whenever we see a hog, they tell us each and every time that it is a carp and that Russia is observing the fast. Communist East Germany is already armed to the teeth—but no matter, that's the fast. West Germany, so far, has not one single soldier; she merely speaks of having some at a future time, but already the Russians call it an orgy of arming and demand that West Germany be denounced. The monk is audacious and he is deft: he not only contends while munching the hog that it is a carp, he also peeks in the windows of other people, and, seeing them eating carp, asserts that they are overeating on pork. Little things can be hidden behind the wall but great things can be concealed only behind the word. Where could one hide the fact that Communist East Germany has already re-armed? Where else but behind propaganda which inveighs against West Germany!

The world is making decisions and we too must decide in our minds: do we wish West Germany to remain unarmed, seeing that East Germany is already armed and the Russian army is permanently entrenched on the German border? Do we wish West Germany to remain in the position of a helpless victim? Do we wish for the Communist regime to spread to West Germany? Would this be propitious for our hopes of liberation?

We are beholden to Radio Moscow for having reminded us of the excellent story of the monk. It illuminates many things. Whenever anything goes on that seems incomprehensible to you, that seems to have a false name, always recall the story: there once lived a gluttonous monk who re-christened the hog a carp in order to make a Lenten dish of him.

This is the Voice of Free Hungary . . .

Adding It Up

(This script addressed to the farmers was broadcast as part of Operation Focus, the Free Europe Committee's combined spoken and printed word operation in support of the Hungarian people's opposition to the regime).

Let us pause for a moment, farmers, and see what the NEM [National Opposition Movement] has brought us. Let us see whether it was, and will continue to be, worth while to oppose the demands of the peasant-exploiting Communist government? Draw near to your radios, and let us count the results to date.

First: This year the delivery quota was reduced by from 8 to 25 percent, last year's arrears were remitted (not only the delivery backlogs but also the tax arrears) and what is more, if you did not pay anything at all they did not dare to press you for it. . . .

Second: The local executive organs of the Communist government have used their common sense; they try to help you, to win favor in your eyes, by lightening your burden under the pretext of social allowances, assessment of [flood] damage, and so on. A proof of this is that *Szabad Nep*

stated in a leading article that "the county councils and collection centers distributed social concessions recklessly, and overestimated the damage caused by the elements to such an extent that more than 40 percent of the granted concessions are unwarranted." Do you know to what you owe these concessions, this weeping of the official Party newspaper?

—You know yourselves, don't you, that you owe it to your silent but steadfast opposition. . . .

Third: The Communist government promised a budget of 13 billions for the development of agriculture—solely and exclusively to atone to some extent for the regime failures toward you and to provide you with those necessary agricultural machines and tools which you have lacked for years. It shamefacedly admitted that it has sinned against you, that its economic policy was wrong, that from now on it would give you what you need for production. It kicked over its heavy industrial plans and ordered instead the manufacturing of useful consumer goods. Why, do you think? Was it their pleasure to do it? No, they did not enjoy doing it. They collided with the steel-like wall of your mute opposition, and yielded. . . .

Now, they have suddenly promised that they will return to you the bran [for fodder] from your delivered grain. You have forced 20 thousand wagonloads of bran out of Rakosi's pocket. For, in case you did not know it, that is how much it was. Up to now they simply stole it. Now, suddenly, it is yours. You can also credit this to your silent opposition.

At a conference of the Central Party Committee held in the beginning of October, they decided to raise the bulk-purchasing price of agricultural products. There: 5-6 billion forints that have come out of the bottomless pockets of the Communists again. They yield like clockwork! Why? Because they feel this wall around them, they feel the pressure of the NEM.

Fourth: Do you notice that this year they do not dare use force to form kolkhozes? Instead of violence, now they only plead. If you join, it is fine; if you don't, more's the pity. If you want to stay in, they are pleased; but if you want to leave, they dare not utter a word. They use all sorts of tricks to try to influence your decision, to save what still can be saved, but merely try and you will see that they do not dare prevent you from declaring the disbandment of the agricultural collectives. You and I, we both know why. You taught them that it is not a wise thing to oppose the will of millions.

Adding it all up, we can fairly state that it was worth while. It cannot be denied that there are results. Who could doubt that from now on there will be even more! The important thing is that your every thought, your every step be directed by the conviction that YOU are the stronger!

Spot

The regime does not have enough police and agents to watch ten million Hungarians. Think of the National Opposition Movement's NEM, No!

This is the Voice of Free Czechoslovakia . . .

A Program for Action

(This broadcast was addressed to the factory workers in connection with the Trade Union [industrial] works council elections, as part of the current phase of Operation Veto, the Free Europe Committee's combined spoken and printed word operation in support of the Czechoslovak People's Opposition.)

We invite our listeners to hear our "After Work Discussion" between your fellow workers Vasek, Janko and Joseph. They have met again after a week of hard work and are now discussing their daily problems and worries.

Joseph: Listen boys—we are going to elect representatives for our Work Council next week. I was told so by the foreman.

Janko: Why should they keep it a secret? After all, who cares? . . .

Vasek: What do you mean? Look at Joseph here and his election eagerness! He listens to Radio Free Europe, that's where he gets his wisdom. It is supposedly enough to get control of the Works Councils and the regime will be overthrown. . . . (laughing)

Joseph: Listen, Vasek, I don't need Free Europe to tell me that I sweat like a horse for nothing, or that the Christmas holidays are approaching and I have no fuel to heat my home. I am old enough to know what is good and what is bad. . . .

Vasek: What nonsense you talk! The whole workshop is making fun of your agitation for the elections—you are even worse than the Communists in this respect. Everyone knows that the elections are just another farce, and you take it so seriously. Nobody wants to play the regime's clown in the Works Council. But you are dreaming about some union reform . . . ha, ha!

Joseph: Well, then, the best thing is to fold one's hands in one's lap and keep quiet. . . .

That would be the best thing for the workers to do—eh, you philosopher?

Janko: To wait for the American tanks. . . .

Joseph: What nonsense. . . . What an advantage it is for the regime if we are going to depend on others.

You have been waiting for the American tanks for six years and that's exactly how many times the Communists increased your working norm. Go on and wait some more—they will keep increasing your work norm too. It will go so far that one day you will die of exhaustion. Who will ever dare to put this inscription on your gravestone: "He died far too young, of unfulfillable norms."

Vasek: Unfortunately I am a mortal man but so is the Communist norm planner. . . .

Joseph: A doubtful consolation. . . .

Janko: If one could take out insurance against premature death from overwork!

Joseph: The Works Council is your insurance!

Vasek: You are incorrigible. Do you still believe in miracles?

Joseph: Is it such a marvel if I want to get humanly bearable working conditions? Don't you care what you are doing and why?

Vasek: Certainly. . . .

Joseph: Well then, don't expect your neighbor to cut your corns for you. It's your lookout. If you show the Works Council that you are not a fool that they can wipe the floor with, things will look different. . . .

Janko: You don't get far on your own. Tell them your working norm is already hard enough and they will laugh at you.

Joseph: That's it. That's the idea. If we want to get anything we have got to go for it together, all of us, in solidarity. When the comrades in the Works Council see that we are not cowards, that we are standing up for our demands, their courage too will rise, and they will not easily give their consent to any increase in norms. After all, the works manager also likes to have peace and quiet in his workshop.

Vasek: Your imaginations are carrying you away. You forget that even the best members of the Works Council would hardly risk arrest to fix your norm according to your own liking. The regime has arranged it in such a way that even the most trivial thing can be explained as sabotaging of the State Plan. Or as a violation of State discipline.

Janko: I think it is not quite as you say. The regulations clearly say that without the trade unions' consent the working norms cannot be raised.

Vasek: But the trouble is that those same regulations also say that the trade unions, in appointing the norm-fixing commission, must see that all of its members originate from the ranks of the so-called "top workers." And you know very well who they are: Stakhanovites, shock-workers, innovators and all kinds of "improvers." Has this privileged gang any interest in sparing the workers? Or don't their artificially-inflated outputs serve as the pretext for increasing the norms of all other workers? What can the Works Council do? It is as helpless as you or I.

Joseph: You are wrong. Nobody but ourselves are to blame for every norm increase. It is only due to your own ignorance and timidity that you have to drill twice as many girders as you did two years ago. . . .

Vasek: Well, we are helpless . . . this cannot be changed. . . . Or do you want me to climb up on the transmission belt and shout down from there: "I protest any norm increase. My norm is progressive enough." Will that help?

Joseph: It may help you, however, if you shout the following: "Only experts should become members of the commissions for revisions of norms." Well, do not laugh! It will certainly help if you prevent a shoemaker from checking the norms of lathe-operators. If it becomes necessary to revise the norms of welding work, let the welders do it instead of laureates who were decorated for their stories for children. And I would like to see an honest mechanic who would approve a one-day norm for a general overhaul of brakes of a Tatraplan if he knew that it

depended on himself to produce all needed parts. If he has no rivets and no rubber for the repair of the brake-pump.

Janko: You are absolutely right. Our ignorance about the composition of the commission for revision of norms did us a lot of harm. We failed to see that an attack was being launched against our earnings. And as the chess-players say: Attack is the best defense. We should have observed this slogan and we should have launched a counter-attack. It is not enough to elect a good Works Council: we workers have to set up a program for it. We have to point out the things which we most object to and to show the Council how to settle them without any risk.

Vasek: Wait, wait . . . no long speeches. What are the things most objectionable to you?

Janko: Hard norms!

Vasek: All right. We shall propose you for the softening commission. And the Works Council has to approve our proposal. And further?

Janko: We shall propose honest workers for the control of raw materials.

Vasek: What is the purpose of that?

Janko: To make the supplier responsible for inferior material—to free ourselves from this responsibility. Inferior material makes inferior products!

Vasek: It is not a bad idea. Joseph here could do such a job. He knows how to criticize and how to make reclamations. . . .

Joseph: I would prefer controlling the distribution of premium payments. The regimists would soon call for their abolition, I'll bet you. If the Works Council has any urgent task it is to wage a merciless fight against this State-capitalistic swindle.

Vasek: Have you any objections to the premium payments? Don't you get them on top of your wage?

Joseph: I would rather get a fair basic wage and no premiums than a meager wage and a few crowns of premium payment paid according to the political whim of the works manager or cadre boss. [Here is omitted an ensuing discussion of the inequities of the premium payment system, with specific cases cited.]

This is the Voice of Free Poland . . .

Polish Youth

Several days ago we received two very interesting letters from Poland. They came in the same mail, they both referred to the same subject, and they clearly contradicted one another.

One of the letters was written by a young girl, the other by a woman of the older generation. The first, signed by a girl named Jadzia, begins with the words: "I listen carefully to all your youth programs, and it is as if I were together with you at work or at a camp, sitting around a campfire. . . . Here we cannot organize camps such as the scouts have in England and America. At the Pioneer camps in Poland there is ideological training to try to uproot our national culture. The Communists know that our nation will exist as long as that culture is alive in Polish hearts."



Title: Western broadcasters do not know what to say.

Caption: His brain would not work, so he had to suck ideas out of his finger, but that didn't help.

Sztandar Ludu (Lublin), August 28, 1954

"Dear countrymen"—writes Jadzia—"most of us will not let ourselves be duped, but we will march forward steadfast as our forefathers did."

This is what listener Jadzia, who is growing up in Communist-dominated Poland, writes about herself and her contemporaries. However, we find an entirely opposed view on youth in the second letter, signed with the pen name "Citizen": "Your information on Polish youth is not really accurate. It is based on the opinions of those plucky few who chose freedom. But I feel I must correct the error. . . ."

"The young people of today," maintains 'Citizen', "are not like those of 1918, the 'Little Lions' and 'Eaglets' of our generation. Today they are brought up on Komsomol examples. For them, national traditions, religion and family are unnecessary burdens that hinder life. They are spell-bound by the present only. . . . Alas, it is too late to save them now."

These are excerpts from two letters which reached us simultaneously from Poland. Whose letter should we believe? Should we believe young Jadzia who claims: "We are with you, the majority of youth will not let itself be fooled?" or the older woman who writes: "The youth has been overwhelmed by the enemy—it is too late to save them?"

Should we, as "Citizen" asks us to, reject the testimony of hundreds of young people who risk their lives to find freedom, and who say: the youth is yours, do not be misled by the red color, it is only our camouflage! Should we reject the testimony of Krystyna Bujnowska, the young singer of Mazowsze troupe, who told the correspondents assembled in Paris: "If every single move we made were not watched, the majority, if not the entire troupe, would have followed me. . . ." Should we dismiss as false the words of Zdzislaw Jazwinski, Franciszek Jarecki and many others, who all repeated the same: "Very often we had to pretend we were sympathetic to Communism, but in our hearts we were always Polish." Does it mean nothing that most of the letters we receive are written by young people? Should we give up our struggle since, if what you say is true, it is useless because our youth is already lost and it is too late to rescue them?

No, madam! We do not believe for a moment in the grim picture you present. Apart from what has been told by refugees and foreigners, apart from the letters which reach us from inside the country — there is still another proof more convincing than anything else: the evidence of the enemy. It is enough to read the Communist press carefully to find in it thousands of proofs that the Communists consider themselves still engaged in a pitched battle for the Polish youth.

We are aware of the great peril which today threatens the younger generation, although in our opinion the danger is much more acute in the moral sphere than in political and ideological matters. A child in kindergarten trusts and believes everything that his Communist teacher tells him. Eventually, however, even a child notices the conflict existing between school and home from his own observations and from overheard conversation of the elders. A worried father once wrote us that his 10-year-old son asked him out of the blue: "Daddy, don't you believe in Stalin?" And although the parents' mouths are gagged — although a direct answer is often impossible — in the course of time life itself gives the child an answer. In the course of time the young boy or girl begins to notice the gulf between propaganda and reality. He or she begins to discover the lies which he is fed at school, at meetings and in the youth organization. There comes a great jolt, a psychological crisis. His faith in the authority of the teacher, the school and the government begins to collapse. If at that critical moment a young man finds no other support, if he fails to keep his faith, trust and friendship toward his parents, he

is bound to fall into moral nihilism. This is the danger threatening our youth even more than denationalization and communism. The only rescue from it can be friendship between parents and children: friendship, extending beyond the usual family ties.

The conflict between the old and the young is as old as the world itself. Older people have always criticized the young, and the young generation has always rebelled against the old. When I was the age of listener Jadzia, I remember my grandmother exclaiming in horror: "Oh, this younger generation, they're quite different from what we used to be!" The same sentiment, so familiar, is reflected in the letter of "Citizen" who writes: "The youth of today is not as it used to be, is not like those 'Little Lions' and 'Eaglets' of 1918."

You are wrong, dear listener, the youth of today is no less patriotic, no less ready for sacrifice than your generation, the generation that fought for independence during the First World War. It is for you to make a greater effort to understand the present younger generation, to understand the difficulties which they must tackle, and which their predecessors ignored. The conflict between generations can ordinarily be accepted as a natural phenomenon in human life. Today in Poland there is no place for it. The enemy will take advantage of the older generation's discouragement, indifference and lack of understanding, to break the links with all our national past. Our only hope lies in solidarity and friendship between the older and the younger generation.

Origin of the Species

When a Russian returned, after a long absence, to his native town, he noticed a large statue near the station. Upon inquiring, he was told that the statue was of Petrov, the man who "invented telegraphy, the electric light bulb, the airplane, the cuckoo clock and so on." Soon he came upon an even larger statue. "And who on earth is this?" he asked a friend. "That is the statue of Ivanov, the man who invented Petrov," came the reply.

The Unquiet Life

*This is the story of a quiet man. We have tried to give his story in his own words so that the man's sincerity and trustworthiness are not lost in translation. Unable any longer to live in Communist Romania, he escaped to the West in the spring of 1954.**



"I shall not return to Cluj. . . ."

I HAD only one wish—to live quietly and not to be bothered. But there was no means of doing so and finally the Communists drove me to the point where I had to make a decision: either leave my country, taking all the risks involved in gaining the free Western world, or commit suicide.

A man of 47 has some roots, even if his life has been unsettled, as mine was. My roots were in Cluj where I had been living since I was three years old. I had been to Turkey and to Syria, but I returned to Cluj. I had been through the war, but I came back to Cluj. Now I am sure that I shall not return to Cluj as long as the Communists are in power there.

After the war I settled down to what I hoped would be a quiet life. I got a job as an accountant in the drugstore *Rogea* which was nationalized in 1948. This did not affect me because even after the store was turned into Cooperative Number 1 of the City of Cluj, I remained in office. Incidentally, even the old owners, Sandor M. and Zoltan Y. were permitted to stay on as employees until 1949. Then they had to go. . . .

I installed myself for 50 lei a month in one of Mr. D's two rooms. . . . Mr. D. was very kind to give me one room for so little money and he also let me use the bathroom. Sometimes I could even make some tea in his kitchen. Considering that my monthly salary was 550 lei, I thought myself very fortunate for having found lodgings that cost only 50 lei.

But the quiet life I had been longing for became an impossibility as soon as the Communists came to power. True, I had never been rich and I had had some difficulties in making ends meet. But to this money trouble all the other troubles were added when the Communists

came. Suddenly, keeping a job was no longer a matter of working well. It became dependent on how many Communist newspapers a man read, how many propaganda brochures he could learn almost by heart, how many political meetings he could attend per week, how quickly and well he could answer questions concerning the doctrines of Marx and Stalin, how low he could bow to his Party-member bosses.

I was never any good at bowing and I have never been interested in politics. Consequently I was not very well regarded. I knew that they thought I was a "capitalist" although they did not then, some years ago, say so to my face. I felt myself surrounded by agents and spies, and I no longer dared speak to anyone. I expected to be fired any day. My only hope was that war would break out and that the Communists would be beaten.

When Stalin died, I, like so many other people, thought that everything would improve. I waited for signs of increased freedom, of lessened political pressure, or a little relaxation. But neither war came nor was there any change. I gave them several months. I waited all the summer of 1953 for the Communists to change, to relax, to improve conditions and make life bearable. Nothing of the kind happened. It was then that I began to interest myself in the possibilities of leaving Romania. Some people I knew had got out. There was George Z., who was comfortably installed in Canada, at least to judge from the letters he sent back home to Cluj. And there was Mihaly B., a chemical engineer, who wrote that he had found excellent work in Brazil, where his wife too was very successful as an artist. Finally there were the Western broadcasts to which I listened occasionally, together with a friend who was lucky enough to have a wireless. Radio Free Europe, the BBC and the Voice of America—they all had something of importance to tell me. Thus, for ex-

* He was interviewed in the West by a Radio Free Europe correspondent.

ample, I learned of the American bill according to which 250,000 refugees would be admitted to the United States. I knew that the first refugees to reach America under this new bill had been received in the White House by President Eisenhower and that the American president had used this occasion to affirm the readiness of the American people to help the people of Communist-dominated countries. I also knew that the Senate had voted 100 million dollars for the aid of refugees.

All this deeply impressed me. I was used to traveling and had hardly any relatives in Romania. Here I was, very unhappy, very worried, very upset about the difficulties I had in my work. I had the uncanny certainty that something very unpleasant was about to happen to me in Cluj. I felt this thing creeping closer and closer. . . .

It reached me one day in March 1954.

There were two very ardent Communists in my drugstore: the personnel manager Stefan L. and the chief librarian—we had a library of Communist trash—Isidor J. They usually arranged political meetings and presided over them; they were the real political managers of the entire enterprise. They despised me as a “capitalist” because I never went to any of their meetings unless I really had to and I never opened my mouth at any meeting unless I had to.

One day in March—I have forgotten the exact date—Stefan L. and Isidor J. came to me full of reproaches. I

did not go to meetings, I did not speak enough, I did not read enough Communist literature, I was against the people, and very antisocial. The conversation took place in the office of the personnel manager, and they shouted at me, tried to intimidate me and finally ordered me to come to the next meeting, which was to take place on Saturday, a few days later.

At this Saturday meeting, Stefan L. rose and began to abuse me in front of about 40 other employees of the Cooperative Number 1. He said I had a nonproletarian attitude, that I lacked class-consciousness and socialist enthusiasm, and that I seemed to long for the pre-nationalization days when workers were exploited in the drugstore, that I . . . but I shall not repeat everything he said about me. He ended by ordering me to do some self-criticism. This, however, I was not able to do. Instead, I tried to defend myself, to explain my attitude, to make it clear that I was not interested in politics. The result was quite disastrous and the meeting closed with abuses hurled at me and threats of measures which would be taken.

It was then that I decided that I had to either commit suicide or get out. I was determined not to let myself be taken by the Communists, not to let them force me to do things which revolted me. And, choosing between death and a free life, I decided to take all the risks and to face all the hardships of life in exile and to get out of Cluj, out of Communist Romania, and into the free West.



“He said I had a nonproletarian attitude. . . .”

Current Developments



Caption: This council president will not be elected again.

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), October 21, 1954

Hungary

Election Results

On November 28, Hungarian citizens went to the polls to elect 105,158 members of city, town, county and local councils from the same number of Patriotic People's Front candidates. Of these candidates, 612 were rejected by the voters, according to *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 1. This is the first time in any national election that any Communist regime, Soviet or satellite, has permitted the rejection of officially sponsored candidates. Two of the rejected candidates had been nominated for county councils, 21 for town and city councils, 589 for local councils.

Voters in the election numbered 6,423,480, or 97.4 percent of the electorate. Of these, 111,295, or 1.7 percent voted against the PPF candidates. This is not an unusually high percentage of anti-regime votes in Communist elections (see the reports on Czechoslovak and Polish elections in this section). What is unique, however, is that the votes against candidates were actually permitted to modify the election results.

There were indications, during the process of nominating candidates in PPF-organized meetings, that this was to be an unusual election. Of the candidates suggested for nomination by the PPF over 15 percent were rejected and replaced by the meetings, *Szabad Nep*, November 10, revealed. In addition, only 37 percent of the candidates were Party members, according to a speech by Mihaly Farkas, Radio Budapest, November 16. Of the 100,309 candidates nominated at the time Farkas spoke, 54.9 percent were peasants, 17.6 percent were workers, 9 percent were employees, 7.5 percent were intellectuals, 4 percent were artisans and shopkeepers, and 7 percent were of other occupations.

Farkas praised the "democratic" nature of the nomination process and hinted at increasing degrees of liberalization for the future:

"The only states and regimes which broaden democracy are those which have boundless confidence in the people

and which receive growing support from the people. Such is our Democratic People's regime. Here democracy has not weakened; on the contrary it unfolds with ever-growing vigor. The greater becomes the strength of Socialism in our country the quicker democracy itself will broaden and develop."

Farkas also castigated the "enemy," who, he said, attempted to "exploit the increased democratic opportunities." Farkas continued:

"He [the enemy] has attempted to smuggle his representatives into ranks of nominated council members. Here and there the enemy has attempted to nominate for the councils kulaks or former members of the gendarmerie. However, in every instance the enemy has suffered a shameful defeat in the course of the nominations. However much he disguised himself, however much the kulaks and the former gendarmes posed as friends of the people, the people did not allow themselves to be misled. Everywhere they unmasked and rejected the nominations of the enemy."

In the election itself, it is probable that those candidates were rejected who were unacceptable to the people but had been pushed through the nomination process by PPF activists. To be elected, a candidate needed over fifty percent of the vote, which in turn had to be at least fifty percent of the eligible electorate. The pattern of rejections and anti-regime voting short of rejection indicates that opposition was greatest in the counties of Gyor, Vas, Somogy and Csonograd, all but the last of which are in the extreme west. In these counties the opposition vote in local council elections equalled or exceeded three percent. Similarly, in the percentage of candidates actually rejected, the western counties of Gyor, Vas, Zala, Somogy, Veszprem and Baranya had a higher percentage of rejections than any of the eastern counties, and than any of the central counties except Bacs and Csongrad. Of the 589 defeated candidates for local councils, 307 were in the five western counties of Gyor, Somogy, Vas, Veszprem and Zala. Reasons for this pattern probably include the fact that western

counties are traditionally the most conservative, and they are the only areas bordering on non-Satellite territory, which may have emboldened the opposition vote.

The official press has made much of the high percentage of votes for the PPF candidates, and although it has mentioned the rejections it has not discussed them at length. In certain cases, however, press reports have sought to minimize the significance of the rejections. A Radio Budapest report of December 9, for example, states:

"One of the candidates nominated for the recent election was not elected in Isaszeg. His name had been crossed off *all* the lists and a new name had been added with pencil, the name of Mrs. Kovacs. Mrs. Kovacs is very popular in Isaszeg, and at the run-off election she received *all* the votes. The candidate who was not elected is a farmer by the name of Ecsari; he is not a member of the local kolkhoz." (*italics added*)

By the announcement of such unlikely unanimity, and the careful statement that the defeated candidate was not a kolkhoz member, the regime apparently hopes to indicate that the rejection of the PPF candidate was not a vote of opposition to the official nominee but rather a "spontaneous" preference for a more popular figure.

The voting process itself was such that opposition had to be openly indicated. After identifying himself, the voter received ballots containing the single-slate lists of candidates for the councils of various levels. If the voter accepted all the candidates he merely placed the ballot in the ballot-box; if he objected to a candidate he crossed out the name. The writing in of an alternate name, as mentioned above in reference to the popular Mrs. Kovacs, was apparently not an official practice. In cases where candidates were rejected, run-off elections were held. The fact that in 612 cases opposition was over fifty percent despite the necessity of clearly revealing such opposition indicates that, indeed, some measure of democratic freedom was permitted. It must be remembered, however, that rejected candidates amounted to only 0.6 percent of the total list.

In pre-election speeches and editorials, a number of indications were given of the current tendency away from the ideological rigidity of the Stalinist period. For example, a November 16 *Szabad Nep* editorial on election agitation stressed the need "to demolish—as we urgently must demolish—the barriers raised by former sectarian mistakes between Party organizations and certain sections of the population. . . ." The article continued:

"Perhaps some of our Party organizations and people's agitators mistrust artisans who have again taken out licenses, or traders who have re-opened their shops, and would rather reproach them for not having joined some cooperative. Many people's educators just do not know how to handle people in whose homes they find holy images hanging on the walls. Such mistrust must be swept out of the hidden corners of the heart without delay. For how can a people's educator, who himself is mistrustful and biased, expect confidence and sincere talk? How can he expect people who often cannot understand our plans to extend whole-hearted approval and support to our party's policy when he, a people's educator, fails to comprehend and give all-out support to it. . . . More self-

education and greater patience with people who might not always agree with the agitator's point of view are called for. . . . Let the sincere and clear voice of the Party reach all men of good will. When the yardstick is no longer 'What is your trade?' or 'What is your view on religion?' but 'Do you want a happier and more beautiful Hungary?'—then our people's educators will not knock on doors in vain."

A *Szabad Nep* article of November 15 castigated the use of jargon that has been a hallmark of the Party activist, and spoke out for clearness and simplicity of language as a means of enlisting the political interest of the non-Party masses: ". . . in our state and in our Party the language of politics cannot be different from the language used by the people." The article stated further that "Our Party has no political jargon." This, although rather a pious wish than a description of reality, indicates the direction in which regime leaders are trying to drive Party members in the New Course. Several examples of unnecessary jargon



Title: Strange Meeting.

Caption: "Look, young man, this pile of decrees accumulated in one year. . . ."

"Why should I look at it, uncle? Mine accumulated in half a year. . . ."

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), October 21, 1954

were given: "zootechnician" for a stockbreeder, one whose "attitude to discipline is unsatisfactory" for a lazy, tardy worker, one who "undervalues the significance of attitude toward delivery obligations" for a man who doesn't pay his taxes.

In his November 16 pre-election speech, mentioned above, Farkas reiterated the familiar New Course policies, and praised New Course accomplishments. He spoke of more consumer facilities already created and planned for the future, of greater rewards to peasants to encourage the production of more food. He stressed the necessity for "Deeds, deeds and more deeds . . . in order to make progress along the June road." Further New Course advances, he pointed out, were only possibilities:

"The possibility is at hand that in 1955 the standard of living of the people will further increase. . . . The possibility exists that there will be more food next year . . . the possibility exists that workers' wages will further rise . . . the possibility exists for a further advance along the June road. . . . But these, comrades, are only possibilities. How far they can be translated into actuality depends on the good work of managers and workers. What is necessary to transform the possibilities into reality? First of all, fulfillment without fail must be assured of the production plan for the fourth quarter of 1954. Productivity should be raised by at least six percent in 1955. Production costs should be reduced by at least three percent. An economy of at least 2.5 percent should be attained in the use of raw materials. Slack work discipline must be completely eliminated; it must be guaranteed that workers consistently work their full eight-hour shift. Expert and firm management in the enterprises must be assured, and so must better production organization and a smooth supply of raw materials. Last but not least, we must attain a further increase in agricultural yields."

It is apparent that for the success of the economic goals of the New Course the cooperation of the people is necessary. In an attempt to gain this cooperation, the regime is permitting an increased degree of political "freedom," as evidenced by the unprecedented council election results, and is attempting to erase the doctrinaire barriers which have traditionally separated the Party from the people.

Agriculture

A number of new agricultural decrees dealing with the disposition of State reserve lands, voluntary land exchanges, and State farm management have lately been issued. A decree of the Ministry of Agriculture, in the *Agricultural Bulletin* (Budapest), November 1, stated that, in the utilization of State reserve lands:

" . . . during the 1954-55 economic year kolkhozes must be given preference, and if they so desire State reserve lands not yet utilized must be given to them for their use. If they do not claim it the land must be given for use by State or experimental farms. . . . State reserve lands must be used to give household plots to MTS workers and vegetable gardens to teachers. . . . Working peasants who have left or will leave kolkhozes and receive poorer quality land

than they contributed may request that the poor quality land be exchanged for land from the State reserve. . . ."

There is no exact information on the extent of the State reserve land, but it probably comprises about two million cadastral acres (2.86 million acres). The use of this land by independent peasants was one of the concessions granted in 1953 under the New Course. On May 24, 1954, Rakosi stated that "the peasantry has taken over most of the reserve land for cultivation." The new decree giving preference to kolkhozes in the use of the rest of this land is part of the regime's attempted drive toward recollectivization after the kolkhoz dissolutions of 1953.

The question of inferior land returned to peasants who leave kolkhozes has for some time been a point of contention. The Supreme Court ruled in specific cases that such peasants may not sue to regain their land (*Szabad Fold* [Budapest], July 4, 1954), and lawyers who took such cases to court were imprisoned. The latest move is apparently designed to placate the peasants who have suffered by such land exchanges.

Another decree providing for land exchange was published some time earlier, in *Magyar Kozlony* (Budapest), October 9. This provides that voluntary agreements may be concluded between kolkhozes and independent peasants for the exchange of plots for greater convenience of tillage, easier access, etc. Such agreements may also be concluded among State farms, between State farms and kolkhozes, among kolkhozes, and between State farms and independent peasants. Before the New Course, one of the regime's actions most resented by the peasants was the forced exchange of their land for inferior land belonging to kolkhozes under the pretext of necessary commassation. Nagy's introductory New Course speech in July, 1953, denounced this practice and stated that it would be abandoned. The recent decree stresses that future exchanges for commassation will be voluntary.

State Farms

In an Agricultural Ministry resolution (*Magyar Nemzet*, November 3) the executive powers of State farm directors were markedly broadened. The resolution stated that:

" . . . the director of the State farm makes all decisions within his legal jurisdiction pertaining to the farm and is in every respect personally responsible for the management. He is responsible only to the head of the Production Board and his deputy, as well as to the Minister [of State Farms]. Other chief agencies of the Ministry of Agriculture and associated agencies may not issue orders to the directors of State farms. The director is responsible for the complete fulfillment of the economic plan and all deliveries and it is his duty and privilege to market the produce of the farm. He himself . . . makes up the production plan . . . and determines the investments. He may use 25 percent of the net profit of the farm on modernization projects and on improving working conditions."

This accentuation of one-man leadership on State farms, at the same time that "collective leadership" is being stressed in kolkhozes and in the Party and government, is part of a current regime campaign to bolster the sag-

ging productivity and efficiency of State farms. They have recently been removed from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture and placed under a State Farm Ministry (see NBIC, December 1954, p. 50). The new Minister, Georg Pogacsas, summarized the present condition of State farms in a December 6 Radio Budapest broadcast:

"State farms operate on 12.5 percent of the nation's land. . . . They gave 32 percent more bread grain per cadastral acre . . . than the independent peasant farms. . . . They also provide 60 percent of the country's rice production. Only about 8 percent of the cattle stock is in the hands of State farms, but more than 20 percent of the central milk supply comes from State farm milk production. It is the task of our State farms to increase further the number of cows, to raise milk production and to create a solid factor fodder basis for cattle breeding. According to the 1955 yearly plan, State farms will hand over 28 percent more of high quality bread grain seed than last year. Almost 20 percent of the country's tractors are in the hands of State farms. One of the main reasons for losses in State farms is low average production. The other main reason is that costs are high. In our State farms the general expenditures are extraordinarily high and there is a great deal of bureaucracy. Precisely because of that the directors were given broader authority, emphasizing one man leadership."

Kolkhozes

Between August 1 and November 8, 7,471 peasant families, comprising 9,718 members, joined kolkhozes, contributing 14,000 cadastral acres of land, according to *Szabad Nep*, November 18. On December 6, the newspaper reported that between November 9 and November 23, 904 families, comprising 1,189 members, joined kolkhozes. No figure on contributed acreage was given for the second period. This rate of return is far lower than the exodus rate during the great kolkhoz dissolutions in the latter half of 1953.

The shortage of agricultural experts and technicians on kolkhozes is still severe. Kolkhozes and MTS urgently need 1,478 agronomists, 535 bookkeepers, 4,800 tractor operators, 1,437 skilled workers and technicians, according to *Magyar Nemzet*, November 19. A major difficulty impeding the supply of these experts is the severe shortage of housing in rural areas.

The Minister of Justice issued a decree, published in *Magyar Nemzet*, November 17, providing that lawyers in rural areas be united in county cooperatives for the purpose of protecting the kolkhozes. It is difficult to tell what the kolkhozes are to be protected against, since the major point on which they could be attacked in courts of law is the question of land owed to former members. Such cases, as stated above, can no longer be brought to court. Nevertheless, the decree is an indication of regime intentions to bolster and support collectivized agriculture.

Vinegrowers are being particularly urged to join kolkhozes, or, in the case of vinicultural kolkhozes, to improve the quality of their production. A practice of kolkhozes harmful to State farms was excoriated in a report on the famous Tokay vineyards, in *Szabad Nep*, November 6.

"Is the Ministry aware of the fact that a form of ex-



Title: Some agronomists and agricultural experts ignore the situation in the fields and decide from their desks that it's time to start threshing.

Caption: "It's ripe, at long last. . . I'll send the people out to the fields tomorrow to start harvesting."

Urzica (Bucharest), July 10, 1954

ploitation of land is still prevalent? The vinegrowers in some kolkhozes first force the growth of the grapes, and when the soil has been exploited they transfer the ruined and weedy vineyards to the State farms. Such kolkhoz vineyards were transferred to the State farms in Sarospatak. They were in terrible condition . . . overgrown with weeds. . . ."

There have also been several complaints that members of vinicultural kolkhozes carefully tend the vines in their private plots, and ignore those on the kolkhoz lands.

Voluntary Cooperatives

A new form of agricultural organization, midway between independent farming and kolkhozes, is now being encouraged. *Szabad Nep*, November 8, announced that voluntary cooperatives of independent farmers would be established for the purpose of joint purchases of expensive agricultural machinery, performing collectively certain agricultural tasks, and marketing their produce in common

on the free market. There have been press reports of such cooperatives for growing rice and fruit, and for viniculture.

By the encouragement of these cooperatives, the regime apparently hopes to increase its control over independent farmers, and to provide an attractive half-way house toward collectivization.

A decree of the Ministry of Crop Collection, announced on Radio Budapest, December 1, provides that independent farmers who are behind in their delivery obligations and unable to fulfill them in the original product or in bread grain, may substitute any other kind of produce "according to their own judgment." The deliveries of beef cattle, fattened pigs and lard are excepted from this. Officials of the ministry will visit farmers wishing to make such substitutions and arrange for the deliveries. If the quotas are still undelivered five days after the arrangements, they will be raised 10 percent. This increased quota must then be delivered in five days.

This decree apparently indicates that the regime has little hope of obtaining full delivery on quotas still outstanding, and is willing to settle for what it can get without resorting to pressures that would alienate the independent farmers.

Craftsmen's Apprentices

Continuing its New Course policy of encouragement for craftsmen providing consumer goods and services, the regime will now permit the use of apprentices by certain independent craftsmen. A decree issued by the Ministry of Light Industry, announced on Radio Budapest, November 27, stipulates 76 types of small trades in which craftsmen may employ up to two apprentices. These must be at least fourteen years old. The term of apprenticeship is two to three years, except for apprentices who have finished

secondary school, for whom the term is half as long. Apprentices must attend classes at local industrial schools for nine hours a week, and are entitled to receive wages and free work clothes.

The two permitted apprentices are in addition to the three employees permitted to craftsmen in these branches by a decree of 1953. Members of the craftsman's immediate family may be employed without regard to the stipulated quota.

A Radio Budapest report on December 4 stated that 8,000 new trade licenses were issued in Budapest alone since the inception of the New Course. There are now 25,000 independent tradesmen at work in the city. The broadcast warned, however, that the number of unlicensed tradesmen is "increasing dangerously," and states that "the city of Budapest will fight against these persons."

Poland

National Council Elections

Elections to national councils of all levels were held on December 5. According to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 8, the results were as follows: for provincial councils (17 provinces plus the cities of Warsaw and Lodz), 93.78 of the eligible electorate voted, 97.98 percent of these voted for the single list of National Front candidates; for county councils, 92.77 percent of the eligible electorate voted, 97.67 percent of these voted approval; for town councils, 95.88 percent of the eligible electorate voted, 99 percent of these voted approval; for borough councils, 95.25 percent of the eligible electorate voted, 98.96 percent of these voted approval; for town-commune councils 95.05 percent of the eligible electorate voted, of these 98.5 percent voted approval; for rural commune councils, 91.95 percent of the eligible electorate voted, of these 97.26 voted approval. Altogether, about 204,000 councilors and 17,000 deputies were elected.

In addition, it was revealed that in six rural communes less than one half of the candidates received the simple majority necessary for election. In five other rural communes the total vote was less than the fifty percent necessary for a valid election. New elections will be held in these eleven rural communes. Altogether, 451 candidates failed of election in these communes. All other candidates were elected.

It is impossible to determine from these figures how many of the 451 candidates not elected were actually voted down. We may presume that approximately 150 were so rejected. This, although a rejection of only .07 percent of the list of candidates, is an unprecedented occurrence in Communist elections (see Hungarian elections in this section). That 451 candidates should have been admitted to have failed of election because of opposition votes and voter apathy is an indication both of the strength of opposition to the regime and a certain regime tendency toward "liberalization" of elections. In no previous Communist election, Satellite or Soviet, have opposition votes been permitted to reject candidates.



Title: A Circumspect Man.

Caption: "Father, mother wants to know when in the world you are going to take care of the grapes?"—

"Don't urge me so much, we haven't yet finished last year's wine. . . ."

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), October 21, 1954

As the percentage figures of voter participation indicate, voter apathy was greatest in the rural areas. The 91.95 percent vote in rural communes is an extremely low figure for Communist elections.

It must be borne in mind that all these official figures may well have no relation to the actual vote: election results are often decided beforehand, down to the actual percentage figures of participation and approval. Nevertheless, the fact that the regime admitted to rejections and to the unusually low participation figures is probably indicative of the actual election trends.

Voting procedure was standard for Communist elections. After identifying himself, the voter received ballots containing the list of official candidates for the councils of various levels. The voter either placed the list unaltered in the ballot box, or crossed off the names of candidates he wished to oppose. The fact that such opposition would be clear to all election officials present doubtless explains why the number of non-voters was so much higher than the number of registered opposition votes.

A Radio Warsaw broadcast, on December 1, defended the single list electoral system as an indication of "true democracy." The broadcast stressed the importance of the meetings in which candidates were nominated to the list: "The democracy of our elections is based mainly on the fact that every worker and peasant has a decisive influence upon the submission of candidatures for the councils and that they are being publicly discussed at meetings."

There is no information on the number of candidates presented by official organizations who were rejected by the nomination meetings, nor on the number of candidates who were Party members. Scattered press reports indicate that popular rejection of official nominees did occur in certain cases. In addition, individual citizens as well as official mass organizations were allowed to nominate candidates. A November 27 Radio Warsaw broadcast stated that "out of the 150,000 candidates for national councils [presumably an incomplete figure] about 60,000 were nominated by the voters." Although independent citizens could nominate, it was the election committees of the National Front which selected the candidates from all those proposed. A November 16 Radio Warsaw broadcast stated that in Warsaw 2,019 candidates were proposed "by political and social organizations in factories and institutions as well as by individual citizens." Of these, the National Front committees chose 1,495 "of the best and most trusted representatives of the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia, of women and youth, of members of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, as well as of non-party activists of trade unions, the Polish Youth Organization, the Women's League, and other social organizations."

Public Security Reorganization

The Council of Ministers has decreed the abolition of the Ministry of Public Security, according to *Trybuna Ludu*, December 9. Its functions will be divided between two new State organs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and a Committee for Public Security. Stanislaw Rad-



Caption: The rot of bureaucracy.

Szpilki (Warsaw), August 15, 1954

kiewicz, the former Minister of Public Security, has been made Minister of State Farms.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs will henceforth direct the Citizens' Militia (ordinary police), the Internal Security Corps (military formations at the disposal of the political police), frontier guards and fire brigades, and supervise public and civil records and prisons. Wladyslaw Wicha has been appointed Minister of Internal Affairs.

The Committee for Public Security will report to the Council of Ministers. Its function will be "the defense of the people's democratic system as established by the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic." Presumably this Committee will take over most of the secret police functions of the abolished ministry. Wladyslaw Dworakowski will head the Committee.

Wicha is a former Vice-Minister of State Control, and in that function was chiefly concerned with supervising finance and personnel of State administration. Dworakowski is a Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, and a former Vice-Premier. Both these men have been associated with Bierut, the First Secretary of the Party. Neither of them has been trained in Russia, and it is believed that Wicha spent the war years in the West. It seems probable that they belong to the group of so-called "native Communists."

The relegation of Radkiewicz to the Ministry of State

Farms is a definite demotion, and may presage his further decline in the hierarchy. It is probable that the revelations of Josef Swiatlo, the defected Security Ministry official, was a major cause of the reorganization and of Radkiewicz's partial eclipse. Radkiewicz, who had been Minister of Public Security since 1944, is being used as a scapegoat for the activities revealed by Swiatlo, as well as being punished to give some propaganda substance to regime claims that Swiatlo was an American agent who wormed his way into the Security Ministry.

In addition, this reorganization seems to follow the pattern of similar events in the Soviet Union, where after the death of Beria the MGB and MVD were merged into a Ministry of Internal Affairs and a State Security Commission was established responsible to the Council of Ministers.

Czechoslovakia

National Assembly Elections

The single-slate election for the National Assembly took place on November 28 (see November 1954 issue, p. 53). According to a Radio Prague, November 30, announcement of final results, 8,711,715 votes were cast by 99.18 percent of the electorate. Of these, 97.89 percent voted for the National Front candidates, 2.11 percent voted against, and 34,658 votes were declared invalid. "All candidates were declared elected as Deputies of the National Assembly." In the Slovak National Council election, held simultaneously, 2,323,099 votes were cast by 99.1 percent of the electorate. The candidates were approved by 97.2 percent of the electorate; 2.8 percent voted against. All candidates were elected. Commenting on the results, Radio Prague stated that the elections "were lost by the bourgeoisie and traitors of the nation; the enemies of our regime were not able to do better than 2 percent."

The mechanism of the voting followed the routine prescribed by Section 33 of the Election Act. Each voter, having proven his identity, was given a ballot marked with the name of the single candidate for his district. The voter was then entitled to go to a booth and "adjust" his ballot. In the words of the Act, this would consist in "leaving on the ballot paper the . . . name of the candidate for whom the voter wished to cast his vote and . . . striking out the candidates for whom he did not vote." Since there was only one name on the ballot, recourse to the voting booths was only necessary for those who wished to register an anti-regime protest, a move which would be obvious to all bystanders. There was no provision for writing in names of alternate selections.

On November 12, an article in *Rude Pravo* (Prague) discussed, and attempted to justify, the single candidate election system:

"If there were more than one candidate in an election area, a struggle would be waged for the election of one of them and this would necessarily divide the working population. The endeavor to get one's candidate elected could be coupled with professional, regional, nationalistic and other interests; all old remnants and prejudices could be revived. All this would weaken the people's democratic

order and consequently would also endanger the truly democratic character of our elections."

The article went on to state that, for these reasons, "true democracy" requires one candidate chosen by meetings of workers (see NBIC, reference above, for these regime-controlled nomination meetings).

The list of new Deputies, published in *Rude Pravo*, December 2, indicates that all Cabinet Ministers have seats in the Assembly, with the exception of Minister without Portfolio Julius Maurer. All members of the Politburo of the CPCS were elected, except Zapotocky, who as President of the Republic was ineligible. Politburo members of the Slovak CP were elected either to the National Assembly or the Slovak National Council.

Of the 368 Deputies, 103 are Party and government workers, 95 are manual workers, 51 are collective farmers, 19 are independent farmers, 45 are members of the technical intelligentsia, 34 are members of other strata of the intelligentsia, and 21 are members of the armed forces, according to an analysis of the candidates in *Prace* (Prague), November 13. The youngest Deputy is a girl just turned twenty-one; 52 of the Deputies are under the age of thirty, *Prace* stated on November 21.

The intense press and Party agitation for the elections continued up to the day of voting. *Rude Pravo*, November 18, called on Party actives to:

" . . . intensify the agitation for candidates of the National Front. Every city and village, every factory, every family has to live through elections in the true sense of the word. . . . The heads of the agitation centers shall direct the agitators to visit every voter several times, to discuss the candidates with him, to explain again the importance of the elections . . . in connection with the



Title: Unfavorable Wind.

Caption: From defeat to defeat—that is how one must characterize the campaign launched against us in recent weeks and months by traitors and outcasts of the nation. [Exiles are shown being blown away by the regime's alleged achievements.]

Mlada Fronta (Prague), May 26, 1954



Title: Production Plans for 1955: Ganz Wagon factories will henceforth produce lounges.

Caption: "Aren't you ashamed lying down during working hours?"
"No. I am quality control."

Ludas Matyi (Budapest), October 21, 1954

struggle of progressive mankind against the remilitarization of Germany, for the safeguarding of peace. . . ."

As is apparent, the elections, the results of which were foregone, were utilized by the regime as an occasion for intensive indoctrination, and for attempts to increase its popular support.

Socialist Competition

Advantage was also taken of the country-wide series of pre-election meetings addressed by regime leaders to call for an intensification of "Socialist competition" and to press for the accomplishment of economic goals. At a pre-election meeting in Ostrava, Deputy Prime Minister Jaromir Dolansky said:

"In order to increase work productivity we must encourage to a far greater extent the creative initiative of the workers, we must apply and transmit more expeditiously the experience of factories and workers, we must have more effective and more flexibly-organized Socialist competitions. . . . However, we are building socialism with people who grew up under capitalism. There are still many remnants of capitalism and whenever we relax in the fight against them they immediately thrive. From them originate such symptoms as absenteeism and labor turnover, incorrect attitudes toward common property, egalitarianism, the ambition to grab whatever possible. Therefore the struggle for socialist consciousness, organization and discipline is an inseparable part of the struggle for increased work productivity." (*Prace*, November 24)

The regime is apparently emphasizing "Socialist competition" in an attempt to counter the decline in work productivity and in production in relation to wages, a disproportion which was denounced by Josef Tesla at the Central Trade Union Council meeting in November. According to *Prace*, November 7, socialist competitions in honor of the June 1954 Party Congress embraced 10,024 enter-

prises and factories, 143,623 group competitions within enterprises, and 460,315 "obligations by individuals."

Cabinet Changes

Following the National Assembly elections, the usual reorganization of the Cabinet occurred. Radio Prague, December 11, announced the resignation of the previous Cabinet, and the reappointment by President Zaptocky of Viliam Siroky as Premier. All other former Cabinet ministers were also retained, but there were some changes in positions. Two new Deputy Prime Ministers were selected: Ludmila Jankovcova, former Minister of Food Industries, and Vaclav Skoda, former Minister of Justice. One of the former Deputy Prime Ministers, Jindrich Uher, also former Minister of Agriculture, has been reduced to Minister of Food Industries. Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Kopocky is no longer Minister of Culture, a post taken by Ladislav Stoll. Frantisek Kahuda, new to the Cabinet, has been appointed Minister of Education in Stoll's place.

Other Cabinet changes were: Josef Krosnar from Minister of Bulk Purchases to Minister of Forests and Timber Industry; Marek Smida from Minister of Forests and Timber Industry to Minister of Agriculture; Bozena Machacova-Dostalova, new to the Cabinet, as Minister of Bulk Purchases; Jan Bartuska, another new Cabinet member, pro-rector of Charles University, as Minister of Justice.

There are now two women in the Czechoslovak Cabinet, Ludmila Jankovcova and Bozena Machacova-Dostalova. The former, as Deputy Prime Minister and Politburo candidate, is the highest ranking woman in the Communist world.

None of the former 30 ministers has been removed from the Cabinet, but three new ministers have been added. There has been one dismissal outside the Cabinet; General Frantisek Janda has been released as Chairman of the State Committee for Physical Training and Sports, and his place taken by a former deputy, Vaclav Pleskot.

Agriculture

A Cabinet resolution, announced in *Rude Pravo*, November 25, provides that 1953 compulsory delivery quotas of hay, milk, meat, eggs, wool, potatoes, grain and grapes still undelivered will be cancelled for kolkhozes and independent farmers who have fulfilled their 1954 compulsory deliveries of grain, potatoes and beets. Farmers who fail to fulfill the 1954 quotas of these products must furnish the unfulfilled 1953 deliveries in 1955. Delivery of unfulfilled 1953 quotas for produce other than those listed has been cancelled unconditionally. At the same time, reductions of 1954 grain delivery quotas for areas affected by the spring drought and summer floods were announced, as well as certain other concessions in regard to compulsory deliveries.

The sweeping cancellation of outstanding 1953 quotas appears to be an attempt to gain the good will of the resentful peasants, and to assure 1954 deliveries by the small expenditure of outstanding 1953 quotas, which were probably unobtainable anyway. The Czechoslovak compulsory delivery program seems to be seriously threatened by peasant

We Know the Situation

The following article which appeared in Romania Libera (Bucharest), September 24, 1954, gives insight into the bureaucratic inefficiency of the Communist agricultural apparatus as well as into the way in which it would like the peasantry to react to this "bureaucratism."

MIHAI RADULESCU was busy in his kitchen garden just before dinner. Suddenly, he heard a great knocking at the front door. "Who is it?" No answer. But a familiar noise made him rush in its direction. He saw his cow—his only cow—and simply couldn't believe his eyes. The cow looked exhausted. She had just quenched her thirst (he saw the cauldron nearby) and was now lying on the ground. Our man was terribly confused. Three days before he had brought his cow to the ORACA [regional office for collecting meat quotas] for his own and for a few friends' compulsory delivery quotas. And now, the cow had returned. . . .

"What does this mean?" he thought. Later on, at dinner, he said to his wife, "I must return her tomorrow morning."

"Why go now when there is so much work to do?" she reprimanded him. "Wait a little. The ORACA people will come and take her. No doubt, they must have noticed by now that she is gone."

Mihai Radulescu took her advice. One day, two days, a whole week passed. Still no news from the ORACA. After twelve days Mihai Radulescu decided not to wait any longer. He took his cow and left for Pogoane. On the same morning, two other peasants, one from Caldarasi and the other from Smeeni also left for Pogoane. They all met on the road. "Are you going there to deliver your meat quotas?" Mihai Radulescu asked.

"We have already delivered them, brother," the travellers replied. "But something happened."

And each told his story.

"My cow returned four days ago," the Caldarasi man said.

"Mine, seven days ago," the Smeeni man added.

As they were approaching Pogoane, one of them said: "Look, is there a herd over there or don't I see well?"

"One, three, seven, twelve . . ." Radulescu counted the approaching herd. "Maybe they are going to pasture alone."

But another traveller explained to him that these were cows delivered to ORACA by the peasants from Glodeanu and Carlig, cows which apparently were returning home. "You know, this sounds serious. Something must have happened at the regional office in Pogoane if the cows run away." And they hurried to arrive as soon as possible.

When they arrived, the place was crowded. Peasants from many villages were assembled there, with their cows in front of them, and they were arguing with the Director, Dumitru Constantinescu.

"Come in," the Director was saying very kindly, pointing to his office.

"But what about the cows? Who's going to take care of them? If they run away, we'll have to bring them back again."

"Well, let us talk here, then," the Director conceded, visibly annoyed, and added, "What were you saying about the cattle?"

"We were just saying that it doesn't make sense. We deliver them and the day after they come back."

"We know the situation," the Director answered.

"Who's going to pay for our travel expenses, Comrade Director?" one of the peasants asked.

"Let me explain. . . . It's not as simple as you might think. You see, brothers, we have tremendous difficulties. We lack laborers." And he shouted to be heard by the functionaries who were inside the office. "Georgescu, bring the register out here. It is on my desk."

"Don't shout, Comrade Director, or else the fence will fall down," Mihai Radulescu said, laughing and pointing to the fence that looked very fragile.

"We fully realize the importance of fulfilling the meat collection plan which contributes to improving the meat supply of the working people, but as I have already said, we lack laborers. According to the plan, we should have . . . Georgescu! how many laborers should we have?" the Director shouted again.

"Now listen, Comrade Director, drop this. It will take you too much time to look into the register. Better tell us what you think can be done about the fences," a peasant said at that very moment, pointing to a cow that had just escaped through an opening in the fence. Look, she's running away."

"She's gone," the Director said helplessly. "Georgescu!"

But neither Georgescu, who apparently was supposed to know or do everything, nor the Director could bring the cow back or satisfactorily answer the questions of the peasants. . . .

This is the way things go in Pogoane ORACA. The cows run from the stockade and the management eludes responsibility. It fails to take the necessary steps to keep the cows. Indeed, neither Comrade Constantinescu, nor the other functionaries of the regional office for collection of meat quotas, seem to be in a hurry. They sit lazily and comfortably in their offices . . . and ignore everything. For the time being, only the peasants of the district seem to be in a hurry. Let us hope that the comrades from the Ploesti ORACA will finally decide to visit—at least once—Pogoane to report on the intolerable way in which Director Constantinescu fulfills his duty, on his indolence and his disrespect for public property.

resistance. Grain deliveries, for example, were 91.5 percent fulfilled by October 1, according to *Prace* (Prague), October 3. In the previous year, by September 26, 1953, the grain deliveries had reached 95 percent (*Rude Pravo*, September 29, 1953). In the announcement of the 1953 delivery cancellations, it was stated that kolkhozes had fulfilled their 1954 grain deliveries by 107.4 percent, so that non-fulfillments by independent farmers are probably higher than the October 1 figure indicates.

Kolkhozes

Despite regime intentions, indicated in numerous speeches, and despite the campaign against "kulaks," peasants opposed to collectivization (see NBIC, November 1954, p. 54), the number and extent of kolkhozes have continued to fall. *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), November 5, 1954, revealed that the number of kolkhozes (of the most common types III and IV) was 6,530, comprising 30 percent of the country's arable land. The previous corresponding figure was 6,679 kolkhozes as of December 31, 1953, comprising 32 percent of the arable land (*Rude Pravo*, April 15, 1954). This decrease of 149 kolkhozes in the first ten months of 1954 indicates that although the rate of decline in collectivized agriculture is less than during the great kolkhoz dissolutions of 1953, it is still high.

Romania

Agriculture

A new Council of Ministers decree offers inducements to farmers to raise and deliver more sugar beets, according to *Rominia Libera* (Bucharest), November 21. Independent farmers who sign contracts with the Ministry of Food Production will receive 50 kilos of sugar for every ten tons of delivered sugar beet, plus 25 kilos of seed for every hectare under cultivation, in addition to the payment price of 250 lei per ton. Simple association farmers will receive 70 kilos of sugar per ten delivered tons of beet, higher association farmers will receive 80 kilos, and kolkhoz farmers will receive 100 kilos. Somewhat higher payment prices will be given for longer contracts. The new decree will encourage all farmers to increase their sugar beet production, and at the same time make the various degrees of collectivization economically more attractive.

For the last several months the Romanian press has carried out an extremely intensive campaign urging the complete and rapid fulfillment of fall sowing plans. Sowing was scheduled for completion by November 1. On October 30, Radio Bucharest admitted that sowing was still incomplete in many parts of the country, and urged farmers to continue plowing even after the first snow. By November 3, according to *Scinteia* (Bucharest) of that date, sowing plans had been fulfilled only 79 percent throughout the country, and only 43 to 67 percent in the Timisoara, Galati, Constanta and Arad regions. On November 30, *Scinteia* was still urging the "completion of deep plowing and the recovery of untillied lands."

The reclamation of unused and fallow agricultural land



Title: The grape gathering season is on.

Caption: "The time for grape gathering is not far off, comrade. Why aren't you getting ready for it?"

"I am still busy with last year's harvest. . . ."

Urzica (Bucharest), August 31, 1954

has also been the subject of much press attention. No figures have been released on the extent of land reclamation plans for the whole country. In the Bucharest region alone, according to *Scinteia*, November 28, 13,267 hectares had been reclaimed by that date, almost fulfilling the plan.

The regime is also attempting to increase agricultural production by encouraging independent farmers, and by giving rural areas certain increased degrees of autonomy. On November 12, for example, Radio Bucharest announced that approximately 550,000 hectares of state forest and woodland would be transferred to the administration of village councils. This wood will be used for "communal and public" construction. The regime has at present given up attempts to coerce independent farmers into collectives, relying on economic inducements as in the sugar beet decree. Radio Bucharest, November 19, stated that "peasants with small farms constitute the most determined and most dynamic sector of individual farmers, the main support of the working class in the class struggle. . . . The medium farmer is the central figure in our state, the main producer of cereals. . . . In the present stage, to change from limitation of kulaks to their elimination would be a dangerous adventure. . . ." Since "kulaks" are simply independent peasants whom the regime wishes to collectivize or eliminate, such statements reassure the independent peasantry that, for the moment, they will be permitted to continue in their independence.

By such measures—intensive agitation for plowing and sowing, land reclamation, increased rewards for production, and the encouragement of the independent peasantry

—the regime apparently hopes to lift Romanian agriculture out of the low level to which it has fallen. Such improvement is particularly necessary now that, under the New Course program, increases in food supplies and consumer goods are being promised the people.

Bulgaria

Agrarians Released

First indication that Assen Pavlov, a former leader of the Agrarian Union and Minister of Agriculture 1944-45, had been released from prison was given on November 14, when the Bulgarian press and radio carried a long statement by him. Pavlov announced that he and other unnamed Agrarians would join the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front. He stated that the CPB considers the Agrarian Union as a "brother" organization with similar tasks and aims, and appealed to all former members of the Agrarian Union to "follow a positive and active attitude" toward the policies and actions of the Fatherland Front.

Pavlov, together with other left-wing Agrarian leaders and members of Nikola Petkov's parliamentary group, was jailed in 1947 on charges of sabotage and treason. His recent release, obviously conditional on his statements lauding the Party's agricultural policy and the Fatherland Front, is part of a regime campaign to win the independent peasants through the Agrarian Union. The trial in September of General Vulkov and his co-defendants for assassinating the Agrarian Premier Stamboliiski was the first move in this campaign.

Other Agrarian leaders have also been heard from again after years of imprisonment and silence. On October 29, the press carried a statement similar to that of Pavlov by Tzvetan Maximov, a local Agrarian leader of the Petkov group. He pleaded previous political mistakes and urged his friends to join the Fatherland Front. On December 9, Vergil Dimov, a former Agrarian leader who had been jailed in 1945, released a similar statement pledging "true friendship and combat unity with the Communist Party."

The revival of importance of the Fatherland Front, which is being used as the vehicle for the attempted wooing of the peasants, follows like developments elsewhere in the area, particularly in Hungary. By means of the Front organization, the regime hopes to enlist the active support of the people in attaining its New Course goals.

Relations with Yugoslavia

A number of recent economic and cultural contacts between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia indicate a continuation of the trend toward normalization of relations between the latter country and the Soviet bloc. Among the most recent of these contacts were a trade agreement signed in Belgrade on November 12 (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], November 15), and a ten-day visit to Bulgaria by a group of three Yugoslav musicians early in December. One of the visitors, the baritone Ankovich, stated before departing that "We

believe that the cultural relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will go deeper, not only as between neighbors, but also as relations between two brotherly nations," according to Radio Sofia, December 12.

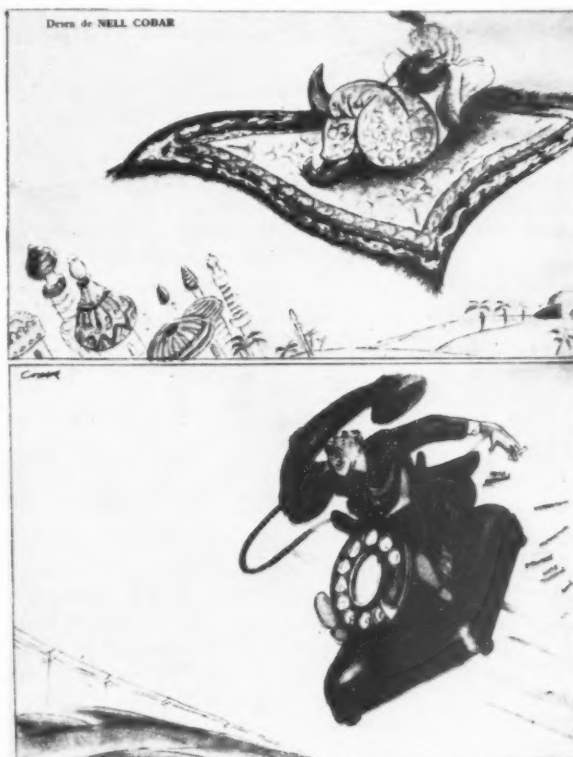
An article in *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), November 28, expressed Bulgarian good wishes toward Yugoslavia on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Tito's liberation of that country, and other Satellite countries did likewise. This was the first Soviet bloc mention of the anniversary since the Yugoslav break with the USSR. The Bulgarian article stated:

"There is nothing more precious for the Bulgarian people than peace. The Yugoslav people also deeply love peace. . . . The common fondness of the two nations for peace, fruit of their common historical experience, is a solid foundation for reaching good neighborly relations of flourishing and peaceful collaboration."

Albania

Amnesty

The regime has released from prison or decreased the sentences of 1,565 persons serving terms for criminal or



Title: The Magic Carpet re-edited, or the way some of us solve the problem of keeping in touch with the field force.

Caption: Comrade Inspector, while you're verifying our vine-growing activities, please also check on our achievements in bird-rearing.

Urzica (Bucharest), September 30, 1954



During the meeting, inscrutable like a sphinx.



After the meeting, he talks like an unlocked windmill.

Urszica (Bucharest), August 31, 1954

political offenses. Radio Tirana, November 24, stated that:

"Taking into consideration the fact that the social regime is now much stronger, the higher political, cultural and economic level of the Albanian people, the decrease in crime and the consolidation of law throughout the country, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, following a proposal of the government, has decided to grant total or partial amnesty to 1,565 persons now serving prison terms for ordinary or political offences, who have given proof of rehabilitation."

This amnesty is part of the celebration of the anniversary of "national liberation" on November 29. Similar amnesties have been granted for the occasion in previous

years. There is no information on the proportion of political to criminal prisoners released.

Higher Delivery Prices

Higher delivery prices will be paid to farmers for a number of agricultural products, according to a Radio Tirana broadcast, November 25. Products include tobacco, cotton, sugar beet, flax, wool, and milk. In addition, increased quantities of corn will be given for deliveries of cotton, sugar beet, flax and olives. Farmers will receive eight kilos of grain per month for each members of the family instead of the previous six kilos; shepherds will be given 10 kilos per month for each member instead of the previous eight kilos.

No Easy Recipe Follows

The increased stress on "the good things of life" promised by the New Course in Hungary has not yet been extended to cuisine, according to a complaint in *Nok Lapja*, June 3, 1954, about the absence of cookbooks:

"Nowadays the only way to get a cookbook is to inherit one. It is a sorry fact that the death of a dear aunt or grandmother is needed in order to obtain even an old cookbook which still rates nutmeg and ginger as indispensable in cooking.

"I have looked in vain for a cooking guide in the stores; it does not exist. For many years no cookbook has been published. Nevertheless, it is obvious that most people regard the raising of the standard of living inseparable from improving the variety and quality of meals. According to my information, there is a special institution in Budapest which studies the problem of food science. At least there, if not elsewhere, they should think about this problem!"

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- Kolkhoz Concessions:** Dec. '53, 1, 13-16, 18; Apr. '54, 25; Aug. '54, 30; Oct. '54, 46
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How It Happened

The Soviet and German invasion of Poland in 1939 and the partitioning of the Polish State by the two powers are still a source of embarrassment to Polish-Soviet relations. Thus, both the Soviet authorities and the Warsaw regime are at constant pains to "explain" the Soviet Union's role in the aggression. Numerous articles are dedicated to this problem in the press of both countries. Rationalizing this aspect of Polish-Soviet history is the entire function of a book entitled "The Fiasco of the Imperialist Plan With Regard to Poland in the Years of World War II," composed of four articles and published by the State Political Publishing House in Moscow.

According to a review in the November 1953 issue of *The Institute of Slavayanyedenye*, monthly organ of the Slavic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the book "describes the victorious struggle of Polish and Soviet nations for a strong, independent, and democratic Polish State during 1938-1947."

The contents of the first article, by V. I. Fomin, are described as follows: "The article ends with the fully justified conclusion that the Polish-German war, launched by Nazi invaders who set out to conquer the world, was prepared by Anglo-Franco-American warmongers and the anti-masses, anti-national and anti-Soviet policy of the bourgeois-landlord ruling classes of Poland, and that the Soviet Union had done everything possible to bar the way of the fascist aggressors in order to save the Polish nation from total destruction."

"Conclusions as to the essentially treacherous policy of Anglo-Franco-American imperialists toward Poland also find justification in the second article of the book: 'The Struggle of the USSR for collective security and for the independence of Poland in 1939,'" the review states.

The Soviet invasion of Poland already engaged in battling the Nazis is explained by the second article as follows: "In this situation, on September 17, 1939, the Soviet government ordered the Red Army to take under its protection the life and property of the inhabitants of the Western Ukraine and Western Bielorussia." "It was an act of supreme justice and *raison d'état*," says the author, M. E. Boguslavsky. "The Soviet government saved from servitude and death not only millions of our brother Ukrainians and Bielorussians, but also millions of Poles from the eastern parts of the country. It was the only possible help which the Soviet Union could render to the Polish nation at the time when the country was left to the whim of fate by the ruling classes of Poland and by the Western Powers."

The third article, by G. M. Slavin, is dedicated to the Yalta Conference and ends with the statement that "at the Crimean Conference the Soviet delegation managed to save Poland's independence and secure a democratic solution of the Polish question, which fact became the decisive factor in today's great achievements of the Polish nation in the task of building Socialism."

The last article, by I. N. Malukievich, is, according to the review, a summary of the Soviet Union's "struggle for the formation of a strong, independent and democratic Poland."

Recent and Related

Power and Policy, by Thomas K. Finletter (*Harcourt, Brace: \$5.00*). A plea by the former Secretary of the Air Force for a concerted foreign and military policy which will counteract the "forthcoming Russian air-atomic threat." He discusses the concept of massive retaliation and the problem of those areas which are neither in the Soviet nor the United States orbit and concludes that the U. S. must exert all its energies to "prevent war from happening" by building an atomic air arm so powerful that the Russian threat "will be stalemated." Index.

The Soviet Impact on Society, by Dagobert D. Runes (*Philosophical Library: \$1.75*). Written more than fifteen years ago but published only recently with, the author claims, no changes, this book attempts, with remarkably little documentation, to depict conditions in the USSR and Soviet influence on the world. Attacking Stalin as vigorously as he does Hitler, and warning the United States of Communist infiltration, his polemic is primarily interesting in retrospect.

A Guide to Soviet Russian Translations of American Literature, by Glenora and Deming Brown (*Columbia: \$5.00*). A study containing an essay on "Soviet Taste in American Literature" and a list of Russian translations of American authors from 1917 to 1947. The essay traces the fluctuations in popularity of American periods and authors, as well as governmental and commercial restrictions and expansion of publication. Notes, table of abbreviations, tables and indexes.

Strategy for the West, by Sir John Slessor (*Morrow: \$3.00*). A tactical program for "the prevention not the avoidance" of war by the R. A. F. Marshal. Marshal Slessor's thesis is that although wars such as the Korean conflict will occur again while man adjusts "to the fact that nations or coalitions can no longer impose their will upon others by force of arms," an all-out world war can be prevented. This can be done, however, only because of the deterrent power of atomic and hydrogen bombs: "The greatest disservice that anyone could possibly do to the cause of peace would be to abolish nuclear armaments on either side."

The Church Under Communism; the second Report of the Commission on Communism of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (*Philosophical Library: \$2.75*). The report consists of a "Survey of Church Life under Communism" in the Eastern European countries and China and two sections entitled "Lessons to be Learned" and "Suggested Action." The report concludes that "the only answer to Communism is a reborn Church" and suggests that "It is the duty of the Christian Church to proclaim the supremacy of moral values and aims in international policy and to call for and support the expression of these in political and economic measures, especially in regard to the underdeveloped parts of the world."

Documents of Humanity, compiled by K. O. Kurth, foreword by Albert Schweitzer (*Harper: \$2.50*). A collection of stories by members of the German minority groups who were expelled from their homes during the winter of 1945-46. The stories were published originally by the Goettingen Research Committee in order to "get out of the vicious circle of revenge and reprisal," and they document acts of kindness performed during the exiles' flights by their "enemies." The book's aim is to "liberate man from the still powerful bondage of hatred and fortify his resolution to be compassionate under all circumstances of life, to be man to men."

The Forgotten Republics, by Clarence A. Manning (*Columbia: \$2.75*). The history of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is one of occupation, revolt and turmoil, with the exception of little over a decade of comparatively calm parliamentarianism after World War I. Mr. Manning, a professor of Slavic Languages at Columbia, traces this history from earliest times to the Baltic Republics' present submergence beneath the Soviet flood. The Baltic States symbolize the small, free nations whose "demise is symptomatic of the rise of the new imperialism and uniformity." Selected bibliography and index.

Russian Writers, Their Lives and Literature, by Janko Lavrin (*Van Nostrand: \$6.00*). A history of Russian literature through studies of the great Russian poets, playwrights and novelists. After

brief treatment of a twelfth-century epic, the book concentrates heavily on the 19th century, when, the author thinks, a successful synthesis of western influences and Russian originality produced Russia's greatest literary epoch. The last chapter is a survey of the evolution of the Soviet novel under the shifting dictates of "Socialist realism."

Fifty Years in China, by John Leighton Stuart (*Random House: \$5.00*). A record of a missionary's career in China from 1904 to 1949. Mr. Stuart was president of Yenching University, which he helped to found, from 1919 to 1946, when he was appointed Ambassador to China on the recommendation of General George Marshall who was Ambassadorial Representative of the President. In this office he was a witness of the Communist coup, and his memoirs of this period occupy nearly half the book. Mr. Stuart opposes both United States recognition of or trade with Communist China and the seating of Red China in the United Nations. Appendix including Directives of General Marshall's Mission in China, information on the Political Consultative Conference and statements by General Marshall and President Truman on United States policy toward China. Index.

People's China: Sweat-Shop Arsenal, by Richard Deverall (*Tokyo: \$3.00*). A thoroughly-footnoted study of the development of Mao Tze-tung's China into a "highly organized and efficient international [military] sweat shop." The author is the Asian representative of the AFL and has spent ten years in Japan and Southeast Asia. He documents Red militarization and indoctrination of the Chinese people and discusses the two "great deceptions" perpetrated by Mao on the free world; that Chinese and Russian Communism were entirely unrelated, and that the aim of Chinese Communism was simply to form a democratic coalition government. In calling Red China "a monumental labor problem," Mr. Deverall warns that the free Asian nations face Chinese slave labor competition aimed at armed aggression which within ten years will "wreck their labor movements and reduce them to conditions of poverty which today are practically impossible to visualize." Index and illustrations.



THE FREE EUROPE COMMITTEE was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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